THE BLUE ANNALS

PART ONE

BY

GEORGE N. ROERICH

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,
CALCUTTA
1949

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

MONOGRAPH SERIES

1 AŚVAGHOṢA
By B C Law

2 THE KOL TRIBE OF CENTRAL INDIA
By W G Griffiths

3 THE CHRONICLES OF CEYLON
By B C Law

4 THE BHALESI DIALECT
By S Varma

5 THE UPPER ATMOSPHERE
By S K Mitra

6 HUMĀYŪN IN PERSIA
By S Ray

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

MONOGRAPH SERIES

VOL VII

THE BLUE ANNALS

PART ONE

Rs. 20/-; £ 2/-; $ 7·50

Calcutta:—Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Printed by Sj. Jogesh Chandra Sarkhel, Calcutta Oriental Press, 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

In the historical literature of Tibet the "BLUE ANNALS" or Deb-ther sṅon-po (the full title of the chronicle is: Bod-kyi yul-du čhos-daṅ čhos-smra-ba ji-ltar byuṅ-ba'i rim-pa Deb-ther sṅon-po or "The Blue Annals, the Stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet") occupy a place apart. In later literature the "BLUE ANNALS" are constantly quoted under the abbreviated titles of Deb-snon, or "Blue Annals", 'Gos-lo'i Deb-ther, or the "Annals of 'Gos lo-tsā-ba", or simply Deb-ther, the "Annals". Composed by the well-known scholar and translator 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gŽon-nu-dpal (1392-1481 A. D.) between 1476 A. D. (me-spre, Fire-Ape year) and 1478 A. D. (sa-khyi, Earth-Dog year), the "BLUE ANNALS" share with the "History of Buddhism" by Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe (composed in 1322 A. D.) the distinction of having been the main source of information for all later historical compilations in the "Land of Snows". Most of the large historical compilations which appeared in the XVIII-th century, and the first half of the XIX-th, have quoted extensively from the "BLUE ANNALS", and often incorporated into their text whole pages from them.[1] The chronology of events of these later compilations is almost entirely based on that of the "BLUE ANNALS". For over a century the existence of the "BLUE ANNALS" has been known to modern science. Alexander Csoma de Koros was the first, I believe, to mention the name of the chronicle in his article "Enumeration of Historical and Grammatical Works to be met with in Tibet" (JASB. vol. VII, part 2, 1838, p. 147; reprinted in "Tibetan Studies", Calcutta, 1912, p. 82). The late Sarat Chandra Das published excerpts from the chronicle in his "Contributions to the Religion, History, etc. of Tibet" (JASB. 1881-2; see JASB. 1881, p. 212). In recent times the chronicle was extensively quoted by Sir Charles Bell in his "Religion of Tibet"

1 For ex the Tu-kwan grub-mtha', composed by Tu-kwan bLo-bzaṅ Čhos-kyi ñi-ma (1737-1802) and the well-known Hor Čhos-'byuṅ of 'Jigs-med Rig-pa'i rdo-rje

(Oxford, 1931) and by Professor G. Tucci in his "Indo-Tibetica II" ("Rin-c'en bzaṅ-po e la rinascita del Buddhismo nel Tibet intorno al Mille", Rome, 1933).

'Gos lo-tsā-ba gŽon-nu-dpal (or more fully Yid-bzaṅ-rtse gŽon-nu-dpal, also written Ye-bzaṅ-rtse-pa gŽon-nu-dpal), abbot of the Karma-rñiṅ Monastery, was a very old man when he wrote the work (84). He was a well-known scholar, and had carried out extensive studies at the feet of famous teachers of his time, belonging to different religious and philosophical schools of Tibet, some of whom he mentions in the text of the "BLUE ANNALS". We know that the text of the "BLUE ANNALS" was dictated by him to some of his attendants, hence the frequent brevity of the sentences, and in some places a somewhat unfinished character of the text, reminiscent of notes taken down during readings. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gŽon-nu-dpal himself tells us that the work was finished in the year Earth-Male-Dog (sa-pho-kyi-1478 A.D.) in the Monastery of Čhos-rdzoṅ (see Book XV, fol. 14a) At the desire of the author, the text of the chronicle was edited by th kalyāna-mitra dPal Čhos-kyi rgyal-mtshan and the Mahā-Sthavir dGe-legs dpal-mgon of Lhun-grub Lha-rtse (province of dbUs). Th printing blocks were prepared at the command of bKra-śis dar-rgy legs-pa'i rgyal-po of the Southern Region (Lho-rgyud), whose sho biography 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gives on fol. 13a of Book XV of his work The edition was supervised by Śar Dags-po-pa dPal-phyogs thams-čad las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i lha. The text of the chronicle even gives th names of the chief copyist (yi-ge'i rig-byed-pa)—Ñi-śar bKra-śis, native of Dol, and the chief block-maker (brkos-kyi rig-byed-pa) Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, who started the work in the year Iron-Female Ox (lčags-mo-glaṅ—1481 A.D.), and brought it to completion in the great palace called Čhos-rgyal lhun-po in dMyal (book XV, fol. 13b) This original edition of the "BLUE ANNALS" was preserved at Yaṅs-pa-čan (a monastery in the valley of the sTod-luṅ čhu, west of Lha-sa, on the road to bKra-śis lhun-po). At the time of the Tibetan-Nepalese War (1792 A. D.) some of the printing blocks were lost and new ones were prepared. The printing blocks were the deposited at the Kun-bde-gliṅ Monastery near Lha-sa. The print of this edition is often indistinct. A second edition of the "BLUE

ANNALS" in two volumes appeared in the monastery of mDzod-dge dgon-pa (dGa'-ldan Čhos-'khor-gliṅ), near bLa-braṅ bKra-śis-'khyil in Amdo (vol. I-297 fols, vol. II-271 fols.).

The work is invaluable for its attempt to establish a firm chronology of events of Tibetan history. All dates are given in the Sexagenary Cycle of the Tibetans, and the author takes great pains to calculate the various dates backwards and forwards linking them to the year 1476 A.D. (me-spre, Fire-Ape), during which he wrote his work, or calculating dates from some well-known date, such as for example the date of the death of king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po in 650 A.D. Sometimes he states the number of years which had elapsed between two dates.

Page after page of the chronicle contain lists of names of famous religious teachers, and their Spiritual Lineages (brgyud-pa), mentioning sometimes their birth places, and the names of their monasteries, sometimes giving the years of their births and deaths. The work is classed as a čhos-'byuṅ or "History of Religion", and is divided into *fifteen chapters or books* (the word skabs also means "period" or "time"), each dedicated to the history of one particular school or sect of Tibetan Buddhism.

The First Book gives an account of the origin of the Śākya race, and of the beginning of the Buddhist Doctrine. This is followed by a brief chronological account of the Tibetan kings of the VII-IX-th centuries A.D. or rGyal-rabs (Royal Chronology). The author gives also a list of T'ang Emperors and a genealogical table of the Mongol Emperors.

The Second Book deals with the Later Period of the Propagation of the Doctrine (bsTan-pa'i phyi-dar-gyi skabs).

The Third Book contains an account of the early translations of the Tantras into Tibetan (gSaṅ-sṅags sṅa-'gyur-gyi skabs).

The Fourth Book deals with the Propagation of the so-called "New" Tantras (gSaṅ-sṅags gsar-ma), the spread of the "Path and Fruit" (Lam-'bras) Doctrine of the Sa-skya-pas, and the story of their followers (gSaṅ-sṅags gsar-ma/ Lam-'bras rJes-'braṅ-daṅ-bčas-pa'i skabs).

The Fifth Book gives the story of the Reformer Atīśa (Jo-bo rJe) and his Spiritual Lineage (Jo-bo rJe brgyud-pa-daṅ-bčas-pa'i skabs).

The Sixth Book deals with the story of rṄog lo-tsā-ba and his Spiritual Lineage, and the propagation of the Mādhyamika, Nyāya and Maitreya systems (Byams-čhos) in Tibet. This is an important chapter of the chronicle, and contains much valuable information on the early teachers and translators from gTsaṅ, to whose industry and learning Tibetan Buddhism owes so much.

The Seventh Book relates the origin of the exposition of the Tantras in Tibet (rGyud-sde'i bśad-srol ji-ltar byuṅ-ba'i skabs).

The Eighth Book gives the biography of the great translator Mar-pa and his Spiritual Lineage known as the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud (mṄa'-bdag lo-tsā-ba čhen-po Mar-pa-nas brgyud-de Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-čes-grags-pa'i skabs).

The Ninth Book deals with Ko-brag-pa and Ni-gu (Ko-brag-pa daṅ Ni-gu'i skabs).

The Tenth Book relates the spread of the important Kālacakra Doctrine (Dus-kyi 'khor-lo'i skabs).

The Eleventh Book deals with the school of the "Great Seal" (Phyag-rgya čhen-po'i skabs).

The Twelfth Book relates the spread of the Źi-byed school, and gives a brief account of its "Early", "Intermediary" and "Later" Spiritual Lineages (Źi-byed brgyud-pa sṅa-phyi-bar-gsum-gyi skabs).

The Thirteenth Book gives an account of the gČod-yul doctrine and Kha-rug-pa (gČod-yul daṅ Kha-rug-pa'i skabs).

The Fourteenth Book deals with the Cycle of the Mahākāruṇika, the Vajramālā, etc.

The Fifteenth Book tells of the origin of the monastic communities of the four Schools, etc. and queries and answers (źu-lan) about the printing of the "BLUE ANNALS" (Tshogs-bźi-sogs dge-'dun-gyi sde ji-ltar byuṅ-ba daṅ źu-lan par-du bźugs-pa'i skabs).

'Gos lo-tsā-ba gŹon-nu-dpal must have been a very widely read person. He had consulted an enormous amount of literature, and examined local monastic annals. In some cases he had copied entire passages and incorporated them into his text. This explains the differences in style observed in the various chapters of the work. Some of the passages seem to have been added by the editors of the chronicle. The main sources of our author have been the Biographies

rab, and himself took up ordination, and became known by the name of Druṅ-čhen thams-čad mkhyen-pa dGe-ba'i blo-gros (or Druṅ-čhen Kun-dga' rdo-rje). He is said to have visited the Imperial Court in Peking, and to have invited Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe to the monastery of mTshal to perform the consecration ceremony (rab-gnas mdzad-pa) of the bKa'-'gyur at mTshal (see rGyal-ba lṅa-pa'i rGyal-rabs, fol.63a). The sNar-thaṅ edition of the bKa'-'gyur of 1742 A.D. is said to have been based on the mTshal-pa bKa'-'gyur. The Deb-ther dmar-po contains a royal chronicle (rgyal-rabs) of Tibet. The Fifth Dalai Lama made extensive use of the chronicle in his rGyal-rabs (see fol. 112b). From the Deb-ther dmar-po, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gŽon-nu-dpal borrowed the list of Mongol Emperors given in Book I of his "BLUE ANNALS". mTshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje in his turn based his account of the Mongol Emperors on the work of a certain Dzam-bha la (Jambhala) Ti-śrī (Ti-shih) mGon.* 'Gos lo-tsā-ba when giving a synchronized account of Tibetan kings of the VII-IX-th centuries A.D. and Chinese Emperors in Book I of his chronicle, made use of information collected from Chinese Annals. He did not have, however, direct access to the original Chinese text, but made use of a Tibetan translation of excerpts from the T'ang-shu, entitled rGya'i Yig-tshaṅ, or "Chinese Annals", rendered into Tibetan by the bLa-ma Rin-čhen grags-pa. The story of Tibet from king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po to Dar-ma, the Apostate, is told by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba according to this rGya'i Yig-tshaṅ. It seems, however, that he did not have a direct access to this work also, and quoted from passages reproduced by 'Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje in his Deb-ther dmar-po ("[illegible] Annals", Book I (fol. 23b). This rGya'i Yig-tshaṅ seems to be identical with the rGya'i deb-ther [illegible] translated by [illegible]u, the [illegible]

* This Dzambha-la (Jambhala) Tu-śrī (Ti-shih) mGon must be identical with the Dzambha-la (Jambhala) Tu-śrī (for Ti-shih) mGon who came to Tibet at the head of an embassy to invite Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe to the Imperial Court in Peking in 1344 A.D. (Ape year, spre-lo) by command of the Emperor Toγan Temur (Tib. Tho-gon The-mur gan). The arrival of the embassy is mentioned on fol. 24a of the Life of Bu-ston by sGra-tshad Rin-čhen rnam-rgyal in vol. xxvii of the Bu-ston bKa'-'bum (Lha-sa edition)."

1 — Su-tu-han-čan.

Tibetan text of which was edited by Gu-śrī (Kuo-shih) Rin-čhen-grags, and printed at Śiń-khun mkhar (Liang-chou in Kan-su).[2]

'Gos lo-tsā-ba freely used Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe's well-known work on the History of Buddhism, composed in 1322 A.D. (full title: bDe-bar gśegs-pa'i bstan-pa'i gsal-byed čhos-kyi 'byuń-gnas gsuń-rab rin-po-čhe'i mdzod; the work is found in volume XXIV /Ya/ of the "Collection of Works" or gSuń-'bum of Bu-ston /Lha-sa edition/). This work is especially important for the history of Buddhist Canonical Literature in Tibet. The late Dr. E. E. Obermiller translated into English the chapter of the čhos-'byuń on the Buddhist Canonical Literature, and the part on the propagation of the Buddhist Doctrine in India and Tibet. The remaining part of Bu-ston's "History of Buddhism" containing an extremely important Catalogue of the Tibetan Canonical Literature, has not been as yet translated.[3] Another historical work quoted by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba is the čhos-'byuń or "History of Buddhism" by Nel-pa paṇḍita Grags-pa sMon-lam tshul-khrims, known by the abbreviated title of Nel-pa'i čhos-'byuń. This čhos-'byuń is based on a somewhat different historical tradition, and its chronology merits a closer study. Tibetan chronology of the early period, i.e. the VII-IX centuries, presents considerable difficulties. The early Tibetan chronicles (ex. the Tun-huang chronicles preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris), documents in Tibetan from

2 Our main chronological source for the history of Tibet is the official history of the T'ang dynasty, which exists in two redactions. the Chiu T'ang-shu or "Old" History of the T'ang, compiled in the first half of the X-th century A.D., and the Hsin T'ang-shu, or "New" History of the T'ang, compiled during the XI-th century The chapters dealing with Tibet (ch 196A and 196B of the Chiu T'ang-shu, and chapters 216A and 216B of the Hsin T'ang-shu) have been translated into English by Bushell ("The Early History of Tibet from Chinese Sources." *JRAS* 1880, pp 435-541) Chapters of the T'ang-shu relating to Tibet, as well as those of the T'ung-chien kang-mu, have been translated into Russian by the Rev Hyacinthus Bichurin in his "History of Tibet and Kuku-nor" (St P 1833, vol. I, pp 124-233), and cover the period between 634 A.D. and 866 A.D.

3 History of Budhism by Bu-ston, translated from Tibetan by Dr. E Obermiller, in the Materialien z Kunde d Buddhisms, Parts 18 & 19 Heidelberg, 1931-2; there exists also a separate block-print edition of the Čhos-'byuń at the bKra-śis lhun-po Monastery in 244 folios.

Eastern Turkestan published by Professor F. W. Thomas, some of the early Tibetan inscriptions (for example that of Tabo/see G. Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, III, I. Rome, 1935, pp. 195-204/, and those collected by Dr. A.H.Francke in Western Tibet), and the La-dwags rgyal-rabs record the different dates in the Cycle of the Twelve Animals. After 1027 A.D. (me-yos, Fire-Hare year), with the introduction of the Sexagenary Cycle, dates began to be recorded with the help of the new Cycle, adding the names of the elements. Some of the dates antedating the XI-th century, and previously recorded with the help of the Cycle of the Twelve Animals, were recorded anew with the help of the new Cycle. The reconstruction of the first component (i.e. the element) is not always reliable and one has to bear this constantly in mind when operating with dates belonging to the period preceding the XI-th century A.D. There exists considerable confusion in the "BLUE ANNALS" and other Tibetan historical works regarding the two cardinal dates of Tibetan chronology of the early period: the date of king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po's birth in either 569 A.D., or 629 A.D , and the date of the persecution of the Buddhist Doctrine by king gLaṅ Dar-ma in either 841 A.D., or 901 A.D. Both 569 A.D. and 629 A.D. are Earth-Female-Ox years (sa-mo-glaṅ), and 841 A.D. and 901 A.D. are both Iron-Female-Hen years (lčags-mo-bya), and this may easily lead to a mistake, especially when the rab-byuṅ or the Cycle of Sixty Years is not specifically mentioned. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba seems to have failed to notice the mistake of sixty years in his calculations, and in some passages of his work states that king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po was born in 569 A.D., and again in others that the king was born in 629 A.D., that is sixty years later. Dr. L. Petech in his "Study on the Chronicles of Ladakh" (Calcutta, 1939, p.44 ff) has noticed the error of sixty years in the calculations of 'Gos lo-tsā-ba relating to the early period of Tibetan history. In Book I of the "BLUE ANNALS" (fol. 25b) we read "the taking over of the empire by T'ang Kao-tsu in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-mo-lug-618 A.D.) was in the fiftieth year of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po; in the preceding year he had completed his forty-ninth year, and thus from the birth of Sroṅ-btsan till the Earth-Female-Sheep year (sa-mo-lug-839 A, D.) 271 years

have elapsed." (Thaṅ Ka'u-dzuṅ-gis sa-pho-stag-la rgyal-khams blaṅs-pa de/ Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po'i lo-lṅa-bču-pa-la yin-pas/ de'i goṅ-gi lo bži-bču-rtsa-dgu-po bsnan-te/Sroṅ-btsan 'khruṅs-nas lo ñis-brgya daṅ bdun bču-rtsa-gčig sa-mo-lug yan-la soṅ-ṅo). In the above passage 'Gos lo-tsā-ba clearly states that in the year 618 A.D. king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po was in his fiftieth year. This would put his birth in 569 A.D., and Dr. Petech (ibid., p. 45) writes that "there cannot be any doubt that Sroṅ-btsan was born in 569 A.D." What was the source of 'Gos lo-tsā-ba's information? Fortunately we are in a position to answer this question, for 'Gos lo-tsā-ba himself quotes it. He must have known Bu-ston's statement that the king had died at the age of eighty-two (Bu-ston čhos-'byun, gSuṅ-'bum, vol. XXIV/Ya/, fol. 124b; History of Buddhism, transl by Obermiller, II, p. 185).* Bu-ston does not state his source, but 'Gos lo tsā-ba quotes the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra in support of his chronology.† He, and perhaps some of his predecessors, understood the passage of the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra (ed. T. Ganapati Śāstrī, III, p. 622) dealing with the kingdom of Nepāl to refer to Tibet. The Tibetan text of the Tantra ('Phags-pa 'Jam-dpal-gyi rtsa-ba'i rgyud, sNar-thaṅ bKa'-'gyur, rGyud, vol.XI/da/, fol. 453a)[4] gives Lha ldan instead of Nepāla of the Sanskrit text, and translates Himādri by Gaṅs-čan ri. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba understood Lha-ldan to refer to Lha-sa,[5] capital of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po, and Gaṅs-čan ri to mean Gaṅs-čan-yul, the Land of Snows, i.e. Tibet. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba identified rgyal-po Mi'i-lha of the Tibetan text of the Tantra with Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po (Mi'i-lha corresponds to a Sanskrit Mānavadeva. The Sanskrit text has Mānavendra. See K. P. Jayaswal: "An Imperial History of

* Similar statement by the Sa-skya-pa authors, quoted by Tucci "The validity of Tibetan historical tradition," India Antiqua, 1947, p. 311, 315.

† Bu-ston was familiar with the "prophecy" contained in the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra, for he quotes it in his "History of Buddhism," without connecting its specifically with Sroṅ-btsan. See Obermiller, II, p. 119.

4 The Tantra was translated by Kumārakalaśa and the dGe-sloṅ Śākya blo-gros by order of lha-btsun-pa Byaṅ-čhub 'od at the monastery of Tho-liṅ in Guge.

5 Originally Ra-sa or Ra-ba'i-sa, a "walled-up place", or a place with buildings.

India". Lahore, 1934, p.20 ff & 40/Sanskrit text/). King Mi'i-lha was said to have ruled for eighty years, and 'Gos lo-tsā-ba says that this should be understood that he had lived "for eighty-two years, (because) during this period Guṅ-sroṅ guṅ-btsan also ruled for a short time." From the Chinese Annals, quoted in the Deb-ther dmar-po, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba knew that king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po was said to have died in 650 A.D. (lčags-pho-khyi, Iron-Male-Dog year), and by subtracting eighty-two years, he obtained the year 569 A.D. as the year of the king's birth ("BLUE ANNALS", Book I, fol.24a: "In the Iron-Male-Dog year /lčags-pho-khyi-650 A. D./of his/ Kao-tsu's/reign, Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po died"). This interpretation of the passage of the Māñjuśrīmūlatantra became famous throughout Tibet and Mongolia, and had wide repercussions. Following it, Lha-ldan was adopted as the name of Lha-sa in official documents and literature, and this practice became widely spread during the time of the Third Dalai Lama bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (1543-1588). Later Tibetan writers frequently designated king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po by the name of Mi'i-lha. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba after declaring the year 569 A.D. (sa-mo-glaṅ, Earth-Female-Ox year) to be the year of king Sron-btsan's birth, calculated other dates from the year 629 A.D. (also an Earth-Female-Ox year), without having noticed the interven-ing sixty years. Thus in Book II, fol.3b, he says: "From the year of the birth of the Religious King (dharmarāja) Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po in the year Earth-Female-Ox (sa-mo-glaṅ-629 A.D.) to the year Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre'u-1476 A.D.) of the composition of this book, eight hundred and forty-eight years have elapsed" (gžan-yaṅ čhos-rgyal Sron-btsan sgam-po sa-mo-glaṅ-la 'khruṅs-nas yi-ge 'di bgyis-pa'i me-pho-spre'u yan-čhad-du lo brgyad-brgya-daṅ-bži-bču-rtsa-brgyad 'das-so). We shall discuss the cause of this miscalculation later.

Now there exists a number of Tibetan written sources which assert that king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po died young. According to the Tibetan chronicles discovered at Tun-huang (W. Kan-su), king Sroṅ-btsan or Khri Sroṅ-rtsan died in the year 649 A. D. (bya-lo, Hen year). The funeral rites were performed in 650 A.D. (khyi-lo, Dog year), when a letter was sent to the Imperial Court of

China, announcing the passing of the Tibetan king. We know that the Princess Wên-ch'eng arrived in Tibet in the year 641 A.D. (lčags-glaṅ. Iron-Ox year; See H.Bichurin: "Istoriya Tibeta i Khukhunora". St. Petersburg, 1833, vol. I, p. 132). It seems very unlikely that Sroṅ-btsan had asked for an Imperial Princess in his old age. According to one of the Tun-huang chronicles (No. 252 of the Paris Collection) the Princess spent six years in Tibet before being presented to the king, and lived for three years with the king before his death ($641+6+3=650$ A.D., "The Imperial Princess Mun-čhaṅ /Wen-ch'êng/, escorted by mGar-ston-rtsan-yul-zuṅ, arrived in Tibet... The king Khri-sroṅ-btsan died. For three years he had lived with the Imperial Princess/kon-Jo <kung-chu/". See J.Bacot:" Le mariage de Sroṅ-bcan sgan-po," p. 11, note 2, and p.41, note 3, of offprint).*

According to the rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas (ed. by Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, 1915, p. 47) "the king (Sron-btsan) was short-lived, and is said to have died at the age of thirty six." (rgyal-po sku-tshe thuṅ-ste sum-ču-so-drug-la 'das skad-do). According to this chronicle the king must have been born in 615 A.D. (śin-mo-phag, Wood-Female-Hog year), subtracting thirty-six years from 650 A.D., the year of the king's death.†

It seems the Bu-ston made use of some ancient Tibetan chronicles, the chronology of which corresponded to that of the Tun-huang chronicles and the rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas, but did not notice that this chronology contradicted his statement that king Sroṅ-btsan had lived for eighty-two years. Thus he says: "he (Sron btsan) was born in the year Fire-Ox (me-glaṅ) and received the name of Khri-lde sroṅ-btsan.[6] The image of Amitābha on his head was encircled by a wreath of poppies. When thirteen years of age he ascended the throne and brought under his sway all the petty chieftains of the borderland who

* J Bacot, F W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint: "Documents de Touen-houang, rélatifs à l'histoire du Tibet." Paris, 1940-46, pp 13, 29 My grateful thanks are due to Madame T A. Minorsky for having sent me a typescript copy of the Introduction to this important volume.

† The rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas belongs to a later period, but is based on an ancient Bon-po tradition

6 Also Padma dkar-po'i čhos-'byuṅ, fol 97b (of the Bhutanese edition)

offered him tribute and read out messages (of submission)." (Bu-ston čhos-'byuṅ, gSuṅ-bum, vol.XXIV/Ya/, fol.124a: btsun mo Tshe-spoṅ-bza' 'Bri-bza' Thod-dkar-gyi sras mtshan-daṅ-ldan-pa dbu-la A-mi-tā-bha bžugs-pa žig me-mo-glaṅ-la bltams-te Khri-lde-sron-btsan-du btags-te dbu'i 'Od-dpag-med dar-leb-rgan-gyis dkris-te lo-bču-gsum-pa-la /yab-'das-nas/ rgyal-sar bton-te mtha'i rgyal-phran thams-čad dbaṅ-du 'dus-te skyes-'bul 'phrin-yig klog-go. See "History of Buddhism", transl by Obermiller, II, p.183). This Fire-Female-Ox year (me-mo-glan) corresponds to the year 617 A.D., as was correctly calculated by I J.Schmidt in his translation of Sayang Secen's chronicle ("Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen", St. Petersburg, 1829, pp. 28-29). The year 629 A.D. (sa-glaṅ, Earth-Ox) was the year of the king's accession at the age of thirteen, according to the Tibetan way of reckoning years. Padma dkar-po (čhos-'byun,fol.97b), and Sayang Secen (ibid, pp. 28-29) follow Bu-ston, and state that the king ascended the throne at the age of thirteen. Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po must have been thirty-three in 650 A D, the year of his death. Bu-ston's statement that the king lived for eighty-two years is difficult to explain,* and later authors (for ex. Sayang Secen, ibid. p. 36-37), who followed Bu-ston, declared that the king had died in the year Earth-Male-Dog (sa-pho-stag—698 A.D.) the eighty-second year according to the Tibetan way of reckoning years.

'Gos lo-tsā-ba having advanced all dates, prior to 978 A D., by sixty years, declared the year 629 A.D. (sa-glaṅ, Earth-Ox) to be the year of the king's birth. Tibetan historical tradition accepted the chronology established by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba, and overlooked the older tradition, represented by some of the ancient Tibetan chronicles, and traces of which can be detected in Bu-ston's narrative.

The second crucial date of the Tibetan chronology is the date of the persecution of the Buddhist Doctrine by king gLaṅ Dar-ma. In Bu-ston's "History of Buddhism" (translated by Obermiller, II, p. 197) it is said that the king Ral-pa-čan was assassinated in the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—841 A.D.), and the btsan-po gLaṅ Dar-ma

* Very likely it was based on the "prophecy" contained in the Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra.

U-dum-btsan ascended the throne. gLaṅ Dar-ma must have been a minor at the time of his accession, for it is said in the same "History" (ibid. p. 198) that "when the king grew up (nar-son-pa), a devil took possession of his mind, and he ordered that all monks were to renounce religious life." This passage seems to imply that some time must have passed after the accession of gLaṅ Dar-ma in 841 A.D., and that the persecution of the Buddhist Doctrine must have taken place some years later. According to the "BLUE ANNALS" (Book I, fol. 25a) king Ral-pa-čan died in the year Fire-Male-Dragon (me-pho-'brug—836 A.D.),and his younger brother Tha-mu (<Ta-mo<Dar-ma, here instead of using the Tibetan form of the king's name, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba uses the Chinese transcription of the name obtained by him from the Deb-ther dmar-po) was installed on the Tibetan throne. We are told that unrest took place in the kingdom of Tibet soon after the king's accession in about 839 A.D. (sa-mo-lug, Earth-Female-Sheep year), which was the fourth year since the accession of gLaṅ Dar-ma. It seems the king was deposed in 839 A.D. and again reinstated in the following year (lčags-pho spre'u, Iron-Male-Ape—840 A.D.). 'Gos lo-tsā-ba adds that in 839 A.D. the T'ang dynasty had lasted for 222 years (see Book I, fol. 25a). In the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—841 A.D.) the persecution of the Doctrine took place. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba also quotes the Nel-pa'i čhos-'byuṅ which states that the Doctrine disappeared in 839 A.D. (sa-mo-lug, Earth-Female-Sheep), but discards it. The period which followed the year of the persecution of the Doctrine is one of the darkest in the whole history of Tibet. We do not know how many years had elapsed between the persecution of the Buddhist Doctrine by gLaṅ Dar-ma and the subsequent propagation of the Doctrine. Tibetan sources disagree on this subject. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba based his account on Bu-ston's "History of Buddhism" (1322 A.D.), and on a statement by 'Brom-ston (1004-1064 A.D.). According to Bu-ston (Bu-ston čhos-'byuṅ, gSuṅ-'bum, vol. XXIV/Ya/, fol. 152a; transl. by Obermiller, II. p. 211): "seventy years after the Doctrine had ceased to exist in dbUs and gTsaṅ, it was again introduced there by the Ten Men of these provinces" (In Book I, fol.27b, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba misquoting Bu-ston, states that seventy three years had elapsed, instead of seventy, as given by Bu-ston). This estimate of the length

of the period between the persecution and the subsequent propagation of the Doctrine, was based on a statement alleged to have been made by an old woman, whose words are quoted by Bu-ston. 'Brom-ston in his statement had said that "in the seventy-eighth year, which was an Earth-Male-Tiger year (sa-pho-stag-978 A.D.), (the Doctrine) reappeared." 'Gos lo-tsā-ba (Book I, fol. 27b) adds that "Atīśa came to Tibet in the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta-1042 A.D.), which was the sixty-fifth year after the Earth-Male-Tiger year (sa-pho-stag-978 A.D.)." Accepting this statement by 'Brom-ston, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba adds also that Sum-pa Ye-śes blo-gros, one of the "Ten Men of dbUs and gTsaṅ" (Bu-ston, transl. by Obermiller, II, p. 202 and 210) "was still living" (in 1042 A.D.), for in a letter addressed to the kalyāṇa-mitras of dbUs and gTsaṅ, inviting them to come to meet Atīśa, 'Brom-ston had mentioned the great bhadanta (btsun-čhen) Ye-śes blo-gros. The discrepancy of sixty years between the date of the Chinese Annals and the Tibetan chronicles is difficult to explain. 'Brom-ston stood nearest to the events, and the mistake of sixty years might be due to him, unless he himself had derived his information from an earlier source, unknown to us. It seems clear that for 'Brom-ston the persecution of the Doctrine must have taken place in 901 A.D. Having accepted 'Brom-ston's statement, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba calculated all dates from 901 A.D. (lčags-mo-bya, Iron-Female-Hen year). Thus he states (Book II, fol. 5a) that the year 977 A.D. was the 77-th year since the year Iron-Hen (lčags-bya-901 A.D.). when the Doctrine disappeared. Similarly the Fire-Male-Dragon year (me-pho-'brug) when king Ral-pa-čan died, became the year 896 A.D., instead of 836 A.D., as established by him in Book I of the "BLUE ANNALS", and the famous Lha-sa pillar is said to have been erected in 882 A.D., instead of 822 A. D. (čhu-pho-stag, Water-Male-Tiger), and so on. The year of king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po's birth instead of 569 A.D., based on the interpretation of the "prophecy" contained in the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra, became 629 A.D. Are we then to reject his chronology? No, because many dates he had calculated from the year 1476 A.D. (me-spre, Fire-Ape), during which he wrote his chronicle. Thus he establishes the year of Atīśa's coming to Tibet by calculating it backwards from the year 1476 A.D.

(Book V, fol.20a), stating that the Fire-Ape year (me-spre-1476 A.D.) was the 435-th year after the coming of Atīśa to Tibet (1476-435 = 1041/2 A.D.). We have seen that according to 'Gos lo-tsā-ba this 1042 A.D. (čhu-pho-rta, Water-Male-Horse year) was the 65-th year after the Earth-Male-Tiger year (sa-pho-stag-978 A.D.) given by 'Brom-ston, and accepted by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba as the year of the reappearance of the Buddhist Doctrine in Tibet. This 978 A.D. is also linked to the year 1041 A.D. It seems clear that for 'Gos lo-tsā-ba the year 978 A.D. was a well-established date, made plausible by the fact that some of the monks, who took part in the Buddhist renaissance, and some of their disciples were still living at the time of Atīśa's arrival in Tibet (Book II, fol. 5a: J̌o-bo Bod-du phebs-dus mi-drug-po'i slob-ma Khu rṄog-la-sogs man-du bžugs-so-"At the time of the Master's (Atīśa) arrival in Tibet, many disciples of the 'Six Men", including Khu, rṄog and others, were still living"). How was it possible for 'Gos lo-tsā-ba not to notice that his chronology was short of sixty years? In the First Book of his chronicle, he follows the chronology of the Chinese Annals, borrowed by him from the Deb-ther dmar-po of Kun-dga' rdo-rJe, but later dates are calculated from 901 A.D., in common with other Tibetan authors, and linked to the year 1476 A.D. of his own time. There is no unanimity among Tibetan authors as to the length of the period which elapsed between the persecution of the Buddhist Doctrine by king gLaṅ Dar-ma and the subsequent propagation of the Doctrine. Bu-ston (transl. by Obermiller, II, p. 211) says that "some (authors) say that 108 years had elapsed", and the same figure is given by Nel-pa paṇḍita in his Čhos-'byuṅ, quoted by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba. If we were to accept that the Buddhist Renaissance in Tibet took place in 978 A.D., we would have to admit that some 137 years had elapsed since the persecution of the Doctrine in 841 A.D (the Vaiḍūrya dkar-po of sDe-srid Saṅs-rgyas rgya-mstho gives 973 A.D. as the date of the later propagation of the Doctrine in Tibet/Bod-du bstan-pa phyi-dar thog-ma/. See A. Csoma de Koros "Grammar of the Tibetan Language". Calcutta, 1834, p. 184). Tibetan chronicles have little to say about this dark period, and usually resume their story with the arrival of Buddhist monks in Central Tibet. We know that the

eclipse of the Buddhist Doctrine in Central Tibet was by no means total, and that some Buddhist Monks must have remained in the country after the persecution of 841 A.D. The reappearance of the Doctrine can be best described as a Renaissance. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba himself admits that the Doctrine must have continued to exist in mṄa'-ris (Western Tibet), before its Renaissance in Central Tibet (Book II,fol. 3b). The information on the period is exceedingly scant. All we are told is that three hermits by the names of Rab-gsal of gTsaṅ, gYo dGe-'byuṅ of Pho-thon and sMar Śākyamuni of sTod-luṅ had fled from dbUs to the country of Hor (the Uighur kingdom) via Western Tibet or mṄa'-ris at the time of the persecution of the Doctrine by king gLan Dar-ma. The three men must have followed the ancient trade route across the Northern Upland or Byan-thaṅ to Khotan, from where they continued their journey east-wards to the country of the Uighurs. From there they proceeded to Amdo, and met the future dGe-ba rab-gsal, who later became known as dGoṅs-pa rab-gsal. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba in Book II, fol. 1a of his "BLUE ANNALS" gives a brief account of the life of dGe-ba gsal (also called Mu-zu dGe-ba gsal) according to the writings of dbOn Bi-či. According to this version dGe-ba gsal was born in 892 A.D. (čhu-pho-byi, Water-Male-Mouse) in Tson-kha bDe-Khams (North Amdo, according to a local tradition his native village was J̌ya-žur, situated on the northern bank of the rMa-čhu/Huang-ho/, north of Hsun-hua). He was ordained by gTsaṅ Rab-gsal, one of the three fugitive hermits, also called the "Three Learned Men of Tibet" (Bod-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum). If we assume that dGe-ba gsal received ordination at the age of eighteen, the ordination ceremony must have taken place about 910 A.D., and, if so, the hermits must have arrived in Amdo prior to that. We are not told how many years were spent by them in Hor or Amdo, but it seems clear that the three could not have started in 841 A.D., and that their journey belongs to a later date, perhaps the last quarter of the IX-th century. After his ordination, dGe-ba gsal proceeded to Čaṅ-in-rtse (Chang-yi chiung, i.e. Kan-chou in Kan-su) in the Mi-ñag (Hsi-hsia Tanguts) country, and studied there the Vinaya with Seṅ-ge-grags of Go-roṅ. After that he had intended to go to dbUs (Central Tibet), but was prevented by famine. This last state-

ment is interesting, for it shows that in spite of the persecution, people were still going to dbUs to pursue their studies. Then for twelve years he studied the Abhidharma with Kwa-'oṅ mČhog-grags-pa. In his forty-ninth year, dGe-ba gsal came to Mount Dan-tig (on the bank of the rMa-čhu or Huang-ho, north of Hsun-hua), and stayed there for thirty-five years. He must have come to Dan-tig in 940 A.D. and stayed there till his death in 975 A.D. (śin-phag, Wood-Hog year), which, according to 'Gos lo-tsā-ba, has been the seventy-fifth year since the year Iron-Hen (lčags-bya-901 A.D.) of the suppression of the Doctrine (Book II, fol.3a śiṅ-phag-'di bstan-pa snubs-pa'i lčags-bya-nas bdun-bču-rtsa-lṅa-pa yin). 'Gos lo-tsā-ba adds (Book II, fol.3a) that the "Six Men from dbUs and gTsaṅ" had met bLa-čhen-po or dGe-ba gsal, and that their ordination ceremony was presided over by Grum Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan, a disciple of bLa čhen-po (See Bu-ston, transl. by Obermiller, II, p. 211) About 978 A.D. the "Six Men from dbUs and gTsaṅ" inaugurated the revival of Buddhism in Central Tibet. We are thus led to conjecture that the period which elapsed between the persecution of the Doctrine and the revivalist movement of 978 A.D., was longer by about sixty years, and this "loss" of sixty years caused all dates prior to 978 A.D. to be advanced by sixty years. From 978 A.D. onwards dates are linked with the years 1042 A.D.[7] and 1476 A.D., and much of the chronology is synchronized with outside events. Differences of opinion with regard to the length of the period between the persecution of the Doctrine and the Buddhist revivalist movement, and the fact that 841 A.D. and 901 A.D. were both Iron-Hen years (lčags-bya) must have led to the loss of sixty years in the calculations of Tibetan historians.

The list of Tibetan kings of the early period (VII-IX centuries A.D.) given by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba is substantially the same as the one found in the T'ang Annals. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba borrowed the list from Kun-dga' rdo-rje's Deb ther dmar-po, based on the rGya'i Yig-tshaṅ. The names

7 Atiśa was a contemporary of king Nayapāla of the Pāla dynasty (c 1040-1055 A D) See Ray "Dynastic History of Northern India" Calcutta, 1931, vol I, p 327 ff.

of the Tibetan kings in the "BLUE ANNALS" correspond to those given in the Tibetan chronicles from Tun-huang (IX-th century, see J. Hackin: "Formulaire Sanscrit-Tibétain". Paris, 1924, p. 71. Bacot, Thomas, Toussaint: "Documents de Touen-houang", p. 10, 30ff, 88ff.)

	T'ang Annals.	"BLUE ANNALS".	Tun-huang chronicles.
	Ch'i-tsung-lung-tsan.	(Khri-Sroṅ-btsan, Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po.	Khri-sroṅ-rtsan —649 A.D.
	d. 650 A.D.	569/629-650 A.D.	
2.	name not given 650-679 A.D.	Maṅ-sron-maṅ-btsan 650-679 A D.	Khri Man-slon maṅ-rtsan (650-676 A.D.)
3.	Ch'i-nu-si-lung (<Khri-'du-sron) 679-703 A.D.	'Du-sroṅ man-po-rJe 679-705 A.D.	Khri'Dus-sron 676-704
4	Ch'i-li-so-tsan[8] 704-754 A.D.	Khri-lde-gtsug-brtan 705-755 A.D.	Khri-lde-gtsug-brtsan 704-754 A. D
5.	Ch'i-li-su-lung-lieh-tsan. 755-797 A D.	Khri-sron-lde-btsan. 755-780 A. D.	Khri-sron-lde-brtsan 755-6 A.D.
6.		Mu-ne btsan-po 780-797 A. D.	Mu-ne rtsan-po
7.	Tsu-chih-tsien 797-804 A.D.	Ju-tse btsan-po 797-804 A. D.	
8.	name not given 804-816 A. D.	Khri-lde-sron-btsan 804-814 A. D.	Khri-lde-sroṅ-brtsan—lDe sron-brtsan
9	K'a-li-k'a-tsu (modern: K'o-li-k'o-tsu) 817-839 A.D.	Kha-li-kha-čhu (<Khri-gtsug (lde-btsan). Ral-pa-čan. 814-836 A. D.	Khri-gtsug-lde-brtsan
10.	Ta-mo 839-842 A. D.	Tha-mu<Dar-ma gLan <Dar-ma dbU-dum-btsan 836-841 A. D.	dbU-dum-brtsan—'U-'i dum-brtan

As stated above 'Gos lo-tsā-ba's list appears to be a faithful reproduction of the list given in the T'ang Annals, with only

8 <Khri-lde gtsug-btsan

minor differences. The name of Mań-sroń mań-btsan is not given in the T'ang Annals, but the years of the king's reign given in the "BLUE ANNALS" correspond to those of the Chinese Annals. According to the "BLUE ANNALS" king Khri-sroń-lde-btsan died in 780 A.D., but the T'ang Annals give the year 797 A. D. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba's list mentions king Mu-ne btsan-po, whose name is not given in the list of Tibetan kings found in the T'ang Annals, but is usually mentioned in Tibetan chronicles According to the "BLUE ANNALS" king Mu-ne btsan-po ruled from 780 to 797 A.D. This seems to be wrong, for most of the Tibetan chronicles state that the king was poisoned by his mother after a brief reign of one year and several months (one year and seven months according to Bu-ston, see "History of Buddhism", transl by Obermiller, II, p.196).* The rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuń-gnas (ed Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, 1915, p 28) says that Mu-ne btsan-po had ruled for three years, after which he was murdered (Mu-ne btsan-po rgyal-sar bston-pa lo-gsum-nas 'das-ste Žań-drug-gis bsad-do). According to this chronicle the royal power passed into the hands of the descendants of Mu-thug btsan-po, younger brother of Mu-ne btsan-po. According to Bu-ston (ibid, II, p 196) Mu-ne btsan-po was succeeded by his younger brother Khri-lde-btsan-po, also called Sad-na-legs.* Dr L Petech (ibid. p. 74ff) thinks that Ju-tse btsan-po of the "BLUE ANNALS", a transcription of Tsu-chih-tsien of the T'ang Annals, stands for Mu-ne btsan-po, who thus must have ruled between 797 and 804 A.D. We are as yet unable to settle the question, and shall have to await a thorough investigation of the Tibetan chronicles.

In identifying texts from the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur mentioned by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba in his chronicle, I have availed myself of the Catalogues (dkar-čhag) compiled by Bu-ston Rin-čhen grub (vols. XXIV/Ya/and XXVI/La/of his "Collection of Works" or gSuń-'bum),

* Also the Chin T'ang-shu, Ch 196, fol 12b "The Tsan-p'u (<btsan-po) who died in the 4th month of the 13th year of Chên-yuan (797 A D) was succeeded by his eldest son, who died one year after, when the second son succeeded to the throne"

* Also chronicle N-249 "Documents de Touen-houang," p 82, 89.

the bsTan-'gyur dkar-čhag by sGra-tshad-pa (vol.XXVIII/Sa/ of the Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum), and the Catalogue of the sDe-dge edition of the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur published by the Tôhoku Imperial University (Sendai, 1934). Many Tibetan texts are usually quoted under their abbreviated or conventional titles, their identification was greatly facilitated by the Catalogues (dkar-čhag) compiled by Bu-ston.

In reckoning the years of the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle, I made use of the Table of Cyclic years appended to Professor Pozdneev's "Erdeni-yin erike", St. Petersburg, 1883, which seems to have escaped the attention of scholars in Europe and the U. S. A, Professor Pelliot's "Le Cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie tibétaine" (Journal Asiatique, May-June, 1913, pp. 633-667), and Baron A. von Stael-Holstein's "On the Sexagenary Cycle of the Tibetans" ("Monumenta Serica", Peiping, vol. I, fasc. 2, 1935).

It has been a source of much satisfaction to me that I was able to discuss the entire translation with the Rev dGe-'dun Čhos-'phel, the well-known Tibetan scholar, and I gratefully acknowledge here his very helpful guidance.

I owe to my friend Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, D. Lit. (London), F. R. A. S. B, a debt of gratitude for his constant interest in my work, and his kind help in the reconstruction of Sanskrit proper names.

To my friend bLa-ma bLo-bzaṅ Mi-'gyur rDo-rJe, Tibetan Instructor in the University of Calcutta, I offer my sincere thanks for the help he has kindly given me in tracing several quotations in the Tibetan bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur.

GEORGE N. ROERICH

1946.
Naggar, Kulu.
Himālayas.

THE BLUE ANNALS

BOOK I

THE BEGINNING OF THE STORY OF THE DOCTRINE.—THE ROYAL CHRONICLE.—THE PERIOD OF THE EARLY SPREAD OF THE DOCTRINE.

Namo Buddhāya

yo naiko nāpyanekaḥ svaparahitamahāsampadādhārabhūto
naivābhāvo na bhāvaḥ khamiva samaraso durvibhāvyasvabhāvaḥ | (1a).
nirlepam nirvikāraṃ śivamasamasamam vyāpinam niṣprapañcaṃ
vande pratyātmavedam tamahamanupamam dharmakāyaṃ
Jinānām ||

lokātītamacintyam sukṛtaśataphalāmātmano yo vibhūtiṃ
parṣanmadhye vicitrām prathayati mahatīm dhīmatām
prītihetoḥ | (2a).
Buddhānāṃ sarvalokaprasṛtamaviratodārasaddharmaghoṣam
vande Sambhogakāyaṃ tamahamiha mahādharmarājyapratiṣ-
tham ||

sattvānām pākahetoḥ kvacidanala ivābhāti yo dīpyamānaḥ
sambodhau dharmacakre kvacidapi ca punardṛśyate yaḥ
praśāntaḥ | (2b).
naikākārapravṛttam tribhavabhayaharam viśvarūpairupāyair
vande Nirmāṇakāyam daśādiganugatam tanmahārtham
Munīnām ||

trailokyācāramuktam gaganasamagataṃ sarvabhāvasvabhāvaṃ
śuddham śāntaṃ viviktam paramaśivamayam yogināmeva
gamyaṃ | (3a).
durbodhaṃ durvicāraṃ svaparahitatamamaṃ vyāpinam nirnimittaṃ
vande kāyaṃ Jinānāṃ sukhamasamasamaṃ nirvikalpaikamūrtim||[1]

[1] The Sanskrit text of the Trikāyastava after the Amdo edition of the Deb-ther snon-po was first published by Baron A von Stael-Holstein in his article "Bemerkungen zum Trikāyastava" in the Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St Pétersbourg, No 11 (1911), pp 837-45 The Tibetan translation of the poem is found in the bsTan-'gyur (bsTod-tshogs, No 1123 of the sDe-sge edition) Professor Sylvain Lévi reconstructed the Sanskrit text of the Trikāyastava in an article which appeared in the Revue de l'histoire des Religions, Paris, 1896, vol XXXIV, pp 17-21 The above ślokas are found in the Sekkodeśaṭīkā of Nadapāda (Nāro-pa), ed by Mario E Carelli, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol XC (1941), p 57 ff

"Homage to the Buddha!
Which is neither one, nor many, the foundation of great and excellent benefit to itself and others,
which is neither non-existent, nor existent, equal to Heaven, of equal flavour, of unconceivable nature,
stainless, immutable, peaceful, matchless, all-pervading, unmanifested,

I salute that, which is to be intuited, the incomparable Spiritual Body (Dharma-kaya) of the Jinas!

Which is transcendental, inconceivable, consisting of a hundred well-achieved results, magnificent,

Which causes the source of joy of wise men to spread in the midst of a resplendent assembly,

manifested in all the Worlds of the Buddhas, eternal, lofty, the Voice of the Good Law,

I salute this Body of Glory (Sambhoga-kāya), dwelling in the great Realm of the Doctrine!

Which to some shines like the lustre of fire in order to liberate all living beings,

which, serene, manifested to some the Wheel of the Doctrine of Supreme Enlightenment,

which, having destroyed the perils of the Three Worlds, manifested itself by various means, and in various forms,

I salute this Manifested Body (Nirmāna-kāya) of Saints of great purpose,pervading the Ten Directions!

Emancipated from the laws of the Three Worlds, equal to Heaven, containing all existences,

pure, serene, profound, which is understood by yogins, endowed with the highest serenity,

difficult of perception, hard to be investigated, of the highest benefit to one's self and others,

all-pervading, causeless,

I salute the Body of the Jinas, blissful, matchless, undifferentiated, of one form!"[2]

2 A translation into Tibetan of the ślokas is given by Bu-ston Rin-po-che in

Having thus paid homage to the four manifestations (of the Buddha) in Sanskrit and Tibetan, I shall at first relate the story of our Teacher. To quote from the Vinaya (sNar-than bKa'- 'gyur, 'Dul-ba, vol. III (Ga), fol. 420b). "When the Teacher was residing at Kapilavastu, the Śākyas held a council: "If one were to ask us the following questions "Whence originated the Śākyas? Who was the first (Śākya)? To what ancient race they belonged?" How are we to answer them?" They said: "We shall put these questions to the Teacher," and made their request to the Teacher. Then the Teacher, thinking that, if he were to relate the story of the Śākya race, the heretics might say that this was self-praise, resolved to let Maudgalyāyana tell the story (of the race), and told him: "O Maudgalyāyana! My back is aching, I shall take a brief rest! You should relate the ancient story of the Śākya race." (Maudgalyāyana) accepted (the Teacher's words) by remaining silent. Then (the Teacher), having folded his robe, (3*b*). and using it as a pillow, lay down, Maudgalyāyana then entered a trance in which he was made to see the ancient story of the Śākya race. On arising from the trance, and sitting on a mat, he thus addressed the Śākyas: "At the time of the destruction of this World, most of the living beings were reborn as gods of Light (ābhāsvara, 'od-gsal), etc.". He then related to the Śākyas the story of the first creation of the Cosmic Period, up to the time of the appearance of the first king. "During the time of king Mahāsammata (Maṅ-pos bkur-ba), men became known as animated beings (sattva, sems-čan). The king's son was Roca ('Od-mdzes). During his time, men became known as "come here" (āgaccha, tshur-śog, Mhvtpt. ed. Sakaki, No. 6648). During the time of his son Kalyāṇa (dGe-ba), men became known as the "spotted ones" (Pṛṣata, rMe-ba-čan). During the time of his son Vara-kalyāṇa (dGe-mčhog), men became known as "cloud-necks" (meghagrīva, sprin-mgrin). During the time of his son Upoṣadha (gSo-

his dBaṅ-mdo'i rnam-bśad (Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. III (ga), fol 46a). It agrees with that given by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba

sbyoṅ-'phags), men became known as "palm-legs"(Tālajaṅgha, Tā-la'i rkaṅ). Once a tumour appeared on his head, and from it was born Māndhātṛ (Ṅa-len-nu). In his time men became known as Mānavas (yid-las skyes, "mind-born"). During the reigns of the six kings human life lasted for 100000000000-0000000000000000000 years. From a tumour on Māndhātṛ's right thigh the cakravartin Cāru (mDzes-pa) was born. From a tumour on the left thigh of the latter, the cakravartin Upacāru (Ñe-mdzes) was born. From a tumour on the right foot of Upacāru, the cakravartin Cārumant (mDzes-ldan)was born. From a tumour on his left foot Upacārumant was born. The first great cakravarti-rāja ruled over the four great continents, the second ruled over three continents, the third over two, and the fourth over one. Between Upacārumant's son Bhadra (bZaṅ-po) and Samantaprabha (Kun-nas'od-zer)some thirty names of kings are mentioned. In the lineage of Samantaprabha's son there were a hundred kings ruling in the country of Potala (Gru-'dzin). The last king was named Śatrujit (dGra-'dul)[3] In the lineage of king Śatrujit there were 54,000 kings ruling in the country of Ayodhyā (dMag-gis mi-tshugs-pa). The last king was named Vijaya (rGyal-ba-las rgyal-ba). In the lineage of this king there were 63,000 kings ruling in the kingdom of Vārānasī. The last was named king Duṣyanta (bZod-dka'). In his lineage there were 84,000 kings in Kapilavastu.The last king was named Brahmadatta (Tshaṅs- (4a).
byin). In his lineage there were 32,000 kings ruling at Hastināpura. The last was Nāgadatta (gLaṅ-pas byin). In his lineage there were 5000 kings at Takṣaśīlā. The last king was Romaputrin (Bal-bu-čan).[4] In his lineage there were 32,000 kings in the city of Uraśā (Braṅ-gis ñal). The last king was Nagnajit (Tshan-po-čhe'dul). In his lineage there were 32,000 kings in the city of Ajita. The last king was Kauśika (brGya-byin). In his lineage there were 32,000 kings in the city of Kānya-

3 Or Arindama

4 Dr S K Chatterji suggests Bālaputrin, with Bāla as a late Indo-Aryan equivalent of Roman

kubja. The last king was Jayasena (rGyal-lde). In his lineage there were 18,000 kings in the city of Campā. The last was Nāgadeva (kLu'i-lha). In his lineage there were 25,000 kings in the city of Tālamāla[1] (Tā-la'i phren). The last king was Naradeva (Mi'i-lha). In his lineage there were 12,000 kings in the city of Rāmali. The last king was Samudradeva (rGya-mtsho'i lha). In his lineage there were 18,000 kings in the city of Dantapura The last king was Sumati (bLo-gros bzaṅ-po). In his lineage there were 25,000 kings in Rājagṛha. The last king was Marīci (Mun-sel). In his lineage there were 20,000 kings in Vārāṇasī. The last king was Maheśvarasena (dBaṅ-phyug čhen-po'i sde). In his lineage there were 84,000 kings ruling in the town of Kuśanagara. The last king was Samudrasena (rGya-mtsho'i sde). In his lineage there were one thousand kings in Potala. The last king was Tapaskara (dKa'-thub-spyod). In his lineage there were 84,000 kings ruling in the town of Kuśanagara. The last king was Dharanīmukha (Sa'i-gdon). In his lineage there were 100,000 kings in Vārānasī. The last king was Mahādeva (Lha-čhen-po). In his lineage there were 84,000 kings in Mithilā. The last king was Nemi (—Nimi, Mu-khyud). In his lineage 49 names of kings are mentioned. The last was Rathasāra (Śiṅ-rta sra-ba). In his lineage there were 77,000 kings ruling in the town of Samantāloka (Kun-snan). The last king was Gaganapati (Nam-mkha'i bdag-po). In the lineage of his son Nāgapāla (kLu-skyon) there were a hundred kings in Vārānasī. The last king was Kṛkin. He became possessed of a mental creative effort (towards Enlightenment) in the presence of the Buddha Kāśyapa, and was reborn in the Tuṣita heaven. His son was Sujāta (Legs-skyes). In his lineage there were a hundred kings in Potala. The last king was Karnika (rNa-ba-čan). He had two sons Gautama and Bharadvāja. Gautama desiring to take up ordination, asked his father's permission and, on receiving it, was ordained by the sage Asita (mDog Nag-po). He (4b)

5 Or Tālahāra.

the children of Gautama, and took them away to his place. He gave them milk, and brought them up. Because they were born from sun rays, they became known as Sūryavaṁśa (Ñi-ma'i gñen) or Solar race. Because they were the sons of Gautama, they were called Gautamas (descendants of Gautama). Because they were born of his own body, they were called Āṅgirasas. Because they were found in a sugar-cane grove, they were known as Iksvāku. When king Bharadvāja died sonless, the ministers held a council, (5b).
discussing who should be installed as king. Some said that king's elder brother (should be installed) They went into the presence of the sage Asita, and inquired from him as to the whereabouts of Gautama. The sage said. "You killed him!" They replied: "We do not even remember having seen him! How then could we kill him?" The sage replied "I shall make you recollect!" and saying so, he related to them the full story. They recollected it, and said. "It is better not to mention the name of such a sinner, and keep quiet". The sage then asked. "What sin has he committed." "This!"—they replied. When the sage told them that Gautama was killed without sin, the two boys approached the place. (The ministers) inquired. "Whose boys are these?" "These are his sons!" said the sage. When the ministers saw this, they became amazed, took the children away, and installed the eldest as king. He also died without leaving a son, and the younger one was installed as king, and became known as king Iksvāku. In his lineage there were a hundred kings of the Iksvāku dynasty, who ruled in the country of Potala. The last king was Ikṣvāku Virūḍhaka ('Phags-pa skyes-po). He had four sons: Ulkā-mukha (sKar-mda' gdoṅ), Karakarṇaka (Lag-rna), Hasti-niyamsa (gLaṇ-po-čhe 'dul) and Nūpura (rKaṅ-gdub-čan).

One day the king's chief queen died, and he was full of sorrow. His ministers inquired about the cause (of his sorrow), and the king told them (the reason). "We shall look for another queen", said the ministers. The king replied:

"These sons of mine will quarrel for power. Who then will give his daughter to me for I cannot install her son as king?". "We shall search", replied the ministers A little later they saw the beautiful daughter of another king. They presented themselves before the king, saying "May happiness be on you!" The king said : "What do you want?" The ministers replied: "King Iksvāku Virūdhaka's beloved queen has died. We came to ask (for your) daughter." The king said. "Though possible, you should make a promise that should a son be born to my daughter, he will be installed as king. If so, I shall give (my daughter)" The ministers said "We shall do so", and reported the matter to king Iksvāku Virūdhaka The king said "Having (already) enthroned the elder brother, how can one install the younger brother as king?" The ministers replied. "In this matter there is no certainty. Likewise one cannot be sure that there will be a child born Even, if there will be a child born, there is no certainty as to whether it will be a girl or a boy." Having taken the princess (in marriage), the king had intercourse with her, and a son was born. Because they had (6a) claimed the kingdom for him before his birth, he was named Rājyananda (rGyal-srid dga'). When he grew up, his maternal uncle heard, that the boy would not be installed as king, and he sent a message coached in strong words "If you will act according to your former words, it will be good. But, if you do not, take care! I shall come then, and destroy your entire kingdom!" The king said "How is it possible to install king Rājyananda? It is improper to install the younger brother, and to remove the elder brother." The ministers replied: "The other king being powerful, Rājyananda should be installed, and the young princes expelled." The king said· "How can one expel them without crime?" The ministers replied· "We, being ministers, keep in our minds the royal interests only. We used to expel innocent people, and overlooked those who had committed crimes." The king remained silent. The ministers then conferred between them-

selves, saying "We should make the young princes displease the king!" Having prepared a grove, they decorated the walls (of a pavillion) and placed inside musical instruments, and left the place. The young princes inquired "whose grove it is?" "The king's" answered the ministers. "Well done, let us enter!" exclaimed the princes, and on entering the grove, began to play. The ministers then invited the king who came. Hearing the noise inside the grove, the king inquired "What was it?" "The princes", said the ministers "I shall withdraw my protection from them!" (meaning they were to be killed) exclaimed the king (angrily) "Your Majesty," said the ministers, "please do not leave them without your protection (i e do not kill them)! It is better to expel them!" "Do so", said the king Having received the order of banishment, the young princes touched the king's feet and made the following request "Please allow us to proceed with our retinues" "Do so', said the king. The princes set out with the multitude of their retainers who had remained faithful to them After seven days, having opened the gates of the city of Potala, the ministers discovered that the inhabitants had gone, and said "If you do not keep the gates of the city closed, Potala will become empty!" "Lock the gates", ordered the king, and they locked the city's gates The princes having led away their sisters, in due course reached the neighbourhood of the Himālayas, on the banks of the river Bhāgīrathī, not far from the hermitage of the sage Kapila (gSer-skya)[7] They built with leaves huts for themselves, and settled there. They gained their subsistence by hunting. Three times daily they paid a visit to the hermitage of the sage. Being oppressed by passions (6b)
of youth, their appearance became weak and pale. The sage Kapila inquired as to the cause of it, and they confessed to him "Leave alone your sisters born of the same mother, and marry your cousins", said the sage "Is it right?" asked the princes. The sage replied: "It is proper, when a ksatriya line is about

7 A H Francke Antiquities of Indian Tibet, II, p 73 ff Rockhill "The Life of the Buddha," p 11

to come to an end". Having faith in the words of the sage, they *married their cousins, and numerous sons and daughters* were born to them, and grew up. Noise is said to be a thorn in meditation, and Kapila found himself unable to continue with his meditation. The sage went to see the princes, and told them "I came to see you, because I am going." "Why?" inquired the princes. The sage then told them the reason "You should stay in this very place!" said the princes "We shall go to some other place. Indicate us a plot of land". Kapila held up his golden sacrificial vase and with water pouring out of the vase, he outlined the foundation of a town They built a town and it became known as Kapilavastu (Ser-skya'i gži, "Founded by Kapila"). There they multiplied, but this was brought to an end by the smallness of the town area. God having perceived their thoughts, indicated them another site, where they built another town, and it became known as Devadhā. They held a council between themselves, and passed the following resolution "Our banishment had as its cause the taking (by our father) of a second wife from a family of equal social standing Therefore we shall henceforth abstain from taking second wives from families of equal standing, and shall content ourselves with one wife only". At that time king Virūdhaka remembered his sons, and inquired from his ministers "Where were they?" The ministers told him then the full story. "Did they dare to live with their sisters!" exclaimed the king, and the ministers answered. "They dared!" "Alas," exclaimed the king, "the princes are indeed daring!" He said these words with great stress, and thus the princes became known as the "Daring Ones" or Śākyas. Then king Virūḍhaka having died, Rājyananda (rGyal-srid dga') was installed. He also died without leaving a son. Then Ulkā-mukha, Karakarnaka, and Hasti-niyaṃsa also died (7a). sonless. Nūpura became king His son was Vasiṣṭha. The latter's son Guha (Sa-khyim) had in his lineage 55,000 kings who appeared in the city of Kapilavastu. Among the last

kings of the line, twelve are mentioned including Daśaratha (Śin-rta bču-pa) and others. The last of them was Dhanuḥ-sthira (gŽu-brtan). He had two sons: Siṃhahanu (Seṅ-ge 'gram) and Siṃhanāda (Seṅ-ge sgra). Siṃhahanu was the best archer of Jambudvīpa. He had four sons[8] Śuddhodana (Zas-gtsaṅ), Śuklodana (Zas-dkar), Dronadana (Bre-bo-zas), and Amṛtodana (bDud-rtsi-zas), and the following daughters Śuddhā (gTsaṅ-ma), Śuklā (dKar-mo), Dronā (Bre-bo-ma) and Amṛtā (bDud-rtsi-ma). Śuddhodana had the following sons the Blessed One and his younger brother Nanda (dGa'-bo) Śuklodana had as sons Jina (rGyal-ba) and Rājabhadrika (rGyal-po bZan-ldan). Dronadana had as sons Mahānāman and Anuruddha (Ma-'gag-pa). Amṛtodana had as sons Ānanda and Devadatta Śuddhā's son was Suprabuddha (Legs-par rab-sad). Śuklā's son was Mālīka (Phren-ba-čan) Drona's son was Sulabha (bZaṅ-len) Amṛtā's son was Vaiśālya (dGe-'phel)[9] The Blessed One's son was Rāhula (sGra-gčan-zin). With Rāhula the line of Mahāsammata came to an end. Till Śuddhodana there were 1,121,514 kings According to the Lokaprajñapti ('Jig-rten bžag-pa, Tg mÑon-pa, No.4086).[10] Mahāsammata (Man-pos bkur-ba). His son Roca ('Od-mdzes) The latter's son Kalyāna (dGe-ba) His son Vara-Kalyāna The latter's son Uposadha (gSo-sbyon 'phags) His son Mūrdhaja (sPyi-ba-nas skyes). He ruled over the four continents His son Cāru (mDzes-pa) ruled over three continents His son Upacāru (Ñe-mdzes) ruled over two continents. His son Cāruka (mDzes-čan) ruled over one continent. His son Cārumant (mDzes-ldan) also ruled over one continent only. From him onwards all the cakravarti-rājas are said to have ruled over one continent only. Cārumant's son Muci (lTan-ba). His son Mucilinda

8 Mahāvaṃsa, ed Geiger, p 14, 20

9 dPag-bsam 'khrid-śiṅ, fol 213a

10 de La Vallée Poussin Bouddhisme Études et Matériaux, II (Bruxelles, 1919), p 320 ff

(lTaṅ-zuṅ). The latter's son Śakuni. Then Mahāśakuni, Kuśa, Upakuśa, Mahākuśa, Sudarśana (Legs-mthoṅ), Mahāsudarśana, Vāmaka (gNod-sel), gSer-mdog (Suvarṇa), Bhāgin (sKal-ldan), Bhṛgu (Ṅan-spoṅ), Meru (Lhun-po), (7b) Nyanku (Ṅes-'gro), Pranāda (Rab-tu sGra-grags), Mahā-praṇāda (Rab-tu sGra-grags čhen-po), Śaṅkara (bDe-byed), Diśāmpati (Phyogs-bdag), Surenu (rDul-bzaṅ), Bharata (rGyas-byed), Mahādeva (Lha-čhen-po). Their descendants numbering 84,000 ruled in the city of Miśrakapura ('Dres-pa'i groṅ-khyer). After that Nemi (Mu-khyud), Jayaka (rGyal-ba-pa), Meru (Lhun-po), Bhīmaratha ('Jigs-byed śiṅ-rta), Śataratha (Śin-rta brgya-pa), Daśaratha (Śin-rta bču-pa). After him the 5,000 Pāñcāla kings (lṄa-len-gyi rgyal-po). After that the 5,000 kings of Kalinga After that the 7,000 kings of Aśmaka After that the 8,000 Kaurava kings. After that the 9,000 Kapāla kings (Thod-pa-čan-gyi rgyal-po)[11] After that the 10,000 Geya-rājas (kLu-dbyaṅs-gyi rgyal-po) After that the 11,000 kings of Magadha. After that the 15,000 Tāmralipti kings Then Iksvāku, among whose descendants there were 1,100 kings. After that Virūdhaka who had four sons Ulkā-mukha (bŽin-'bar), Karakarnaka (Lag-rna-čan), Hasti-niyamsa (gLan-čhen-'dul), Nūpura (rKan-rdub-čan) the four. Nūpura's son Nūpurapāda (rKaṅ-gdub-čan-žabs). His son Vasistha (gNas-'Jug).[12] His son Gostha (Ba-lan-gnas). His son Simhahanu (Seṅ-ge 'gram). The latter had four sons. Śuddhodana, Śuklodana, Drona and Amrtodana Śuddhodana's son was the Blessed One. The Blessed One's son Rāhula. Such is the royal chronology abridged from the Abhidharma, and the great treatises composed by the great Wise Ones (mahātman)"...... so it is said in the Lokaprajñapti. According to it, from Mahāsammata till king Śuddhodana there were 15,5149 kings. Again according to the same

11 Mhvtpt, No. 3592.

12 The text, fol 8a, has gNas 'Jig

Loka-prajñapti " The royal chronology as given in the Vinaya. Mahāsammata, Roca, Kalyāna, Vara-Kalyāna, Upoṣadha, Māndhātr, Cāru, Upacāru, Cārumant, Bharata, Bhāva (Srid-pa), Abhāva (Mi-srid), Muci (bTan-ba), Mucilinda, (8a)
Tanujit (Lus-thub), Suvarna, Bhrgu, Jagadratha (Śin-rta sDu-gu čan), Sagara (Dug-čan) Mahāsagara, Śakuni, Mahāśakuni, Kuśa, Upakuśa, Mahākuśa, Bharata, Mahābharata, Sudarśana, Mahāsudarśana, Vāmaka, Upavāmaka, Śikhin, Nyanku (Ñes-'gro), Śankara (bDe-byed), Praśānta (Rab-'dul), Pranāda, Pradayālu (Rab-gdun-ldan), Jyotiskara ('Od-byed), Meru (Ri-rab), Merumant (Lhun-po ldan), Jvāla (Me-lče), Jvālāmālin (Me-lče'i phren), Jvālin (Me-lče-ldan). In his lineage a 100,000 kings ruled in Potala After that Śatrujit. Among his descendants there were 54,000 kings ruling in Ayodhyā. After that Ajitajit (Ma-phebs-'bebs) Among his descendants 63,000 kings ruled in Vārānasī. After that Dusyanta (bZod-pa dka'-ba) Among his descendants there were 14,000 kings ruling in the city of Kāmpīlya ('Dar-'dzin) After that king Brahmadatta. Among his descendants there were 32,000 kings ruling at gLan-čhen-gnas (Hastināpura) After that Nāgadatta (gLan-pos byin). Among his descendants there were 5,000 kings who ruled in Taksaśīlā After that king Romaputra (Bal-pu)[13] Among his descendants there were 32,000 kings who ruled at Uraśā. After that Nagnajit (Tshan-čhen-thub) Among his descendants there were 32,000 kings who ruled in the town of Ma-phebs'-bebs(gron-khyer Ma-phebs'-bebs). After him king Jayaka (rGyal-ba-po) Among his descendants there were 12,000 kings who ruled at Kanyākubja After him Jayasena (rGyal-ba'i sde). Among his descendants there were 18,000 kings who ruled in the city of Campā. After him king Nāgadeva. Among his descendants there were 25,000 kings who ruled in the city of Tāmralipti. After him Naradeva. Among his descendants there were 12,000 kings in

13 Balaputra

Tāmralipti After him king Sagaradeva (Dug-čan-pa'i lha). Among his descendants there were 18,000 kings at Dantapura (So-ldan). After him king Sumati (bLo-bzaṅ). Among his (8b) descendants there were 21,000 kings wno ruled at Rājagṛha After him Marīci (Mun-sel). Among his descendants there were a hundred kings at Vārānasī. After him Mahendrasena (dBan-čhen sde). Among his descendants there were 84,000 kings who ruled over Kuśāvatī (Ku-śi-ldan) After him Samudradeva (rGya-mtsho lha) Among his descendants there were a thousand kings who ruled over Potala After him Tapaskara (dKa'-thub spyod). Among his descendants there were 14,000 kings who ruled at Kuśāvatī After him Bhūpati (Sa-gtso) Among his descendants there were a thousand kings who ruled in Vārānasī After him Pārthiva (Sa-bdag) Among his descendants there were a thousand kings who ruled at Ayodhyā After him Dharanīdhara (Sa-'dzin) Among his followers there were 84,000 kings in the city of Miśrakapura After him king Mahādeva Among his descendants there were 84,000 kings at Miśrakapura After him Pranīta (Nes-'phel). His son Nemi His son Nemisthira (Mu-khyud brtan) His son Bahuka (Tshan-po-čhe) His son Bhoja (Za-ba) His son Upabhoja (Ñe-za) His son Bhojana (Za-ba-čan) His son Bhogavant (Za-ldan) His son Sudrśa (rGya-nom-snaṅ) His son Samadarśin (mÑam-lta). His son Śrūtasena (Thos-pa'i-sde) His son Dharmasena (Čhos-kyi sde) His son Budha (rTogs-pa). His son Mahābudha (rTogs-čhen) His son Budhasena (rTogs-sde).[14] His son Aśoka (Mya-nan-med). His son Vigatāśoka (Mya-nan-bral) His son Sīmasthira (mTshams-brtan) His son Dhanvantari (according to Rev. dGe-'dun Čhos-'phel, rGaṅ-mtshams is a synonym of Than-la-bar which usually translates Dhanvantari). His son Dhundhumāra His son Aruṇa (sKya-ren). His son Diśāmpati (Phyogs-bdag). His son Surenu (rDul-bzaṅ) His son Śaṅkara. His son Ānanda. His son Ādarśamukha (Me-loṅ žal). His son Jan-

14 Mhvtpt, No. 2900, translates rTogs-pa by Buddha The kings' names could also have been Mahābuddha and Buddhasena.

aka (sKyed-pa po). His son Jinarsabha (rGyal-ba khyu-mčhog). His son Bhoja (bZa'-btuṅ-ldan) His son Bahubhuj (bZa'-btuṅ-mod). His son Ajita (Thub-med). His son Aparājita (gŽan-gyis mi-thub-pa) His son Sthira (brTan-po). His son Susthira (Rab-brtan). His son Mahābala (sTobs-bo-čhe) His son Mahāvahana (gŽon-pa-čhe) His son Sumati (bLo-bzan). His son Kumārasthira (or Yuvasthira, gŽon-brtan) (9a) His son Daśadhanvan (gŽu-bču-pa) His son Śatadhanvan (gŽu-brgya-pa). His son Navatidhanvan (gŽu-dgu-bču-pa). His son Vijayadhanvan (rNam-par rgyal-ba'i gžu) His son Citradhanvan (gŽu-bkra). His son Dhanuh-sthala (gŽu-sa). His son Dhanuhsthira (gŽu-brtan). His son Daśaratha. His son Astaratha. His son Navaratha. His son Viśvaratha (Śin-rta sna-tshogs-pa) His son Citraratha (Śin-rta rnam-pa sna-tshogs-pa). His son Guhyaratha /?/(Śin-rta bzhin-po) His son Dhrtaratha (Śin-rta brtan) Among his descendants there were 77,000 kings who ruled in the city of Prabhāsa(Legs-par snan). After him Gaganapati (Nam-mkha' bdag-po) His son Nāgaraksita (kLus-bsruns). Among his descendants there were a hundred kings ruling at Vārāṇasī. After him Krkin. He became a brahmacārin in the presence of the Buddha Kāśyapa, and was reborn in the Tusita heaven His son Sujata (Legs-par skyes). Among his descendants there were a hundred kings who ruled in Potala After him king Karna (rNa-ba). His two sons Gautama and Bharadvāja Gautama's son Iksvāku Among his descendants there were a hundred kings who ruled in Potala. After him Virūdhaka ('Phags-skyes-po). He had four sons Ulkā-mukha (bŽin-'bar), Karakarnaka (Lag-rna-čan), Hastika-śirsa (gLaṅ-čhen-'dul) and Nūpura (rKaṅ-gdub-čan). Nūpura's son Vasistha (gNas-'Jug, the text, fol. 9b, has gNas-'Jig). His son Gostha (Ba-lan-gnas). His son Simhahanu (Seṅ-ge-'gram). His son Śuddhodana (Zas-gtsaṅ). His son the Blessed One. His son Rāhula (sGra-gčan-zin) According to this (account), from Mahāsammata till Śuddhodana there were 834534 kings. The chapter on the line of Mahāsammata (9b).

In the Chapter on the simultaneous appearance in the World of Buddha Kāśyapa and king Kṛkin in the Royal Chronology included in the Vinaya, the Lokaprajñapti says: "The Buddha Kāśyapa having appeared in the World, the Bodhisattva the Blessed One expressed his resolve to obtain in future times enlightenment in the presence of the fully enlightened Buddha Kāśyapa. Having become a brahmacārin, He was reborn in the devaloka of Tuṣita, and remained there until the end of one life-span of Tuṣita." Also in the Kāraṇaprajñapti (rGyu-gdags-pa, Tg. mṄon-pa, No. 4087) it is said that the age of gods in Tuṣita was 576000000 years. At the end of this period, the Bodhisattva made the five preliminary observations as to family, country, race and woman (to whom he was to be born) in the six regions of the Kāmaloka, and announced "I shall enter the womb of Mahāmāyā in the country of Jambudvīpa, and behold Nirvāṇa (amṛta-nirvāṇa). Those of you who wish to behold Nirvāṇa, should take rebirth in that country." The gods entreated him not to go, saying that Jambudvīpa was defiled by the philosophical teachings of 18 heretical teachers, but the Bodhisattva could not be moved. He transformed himself into a young grey elephant, and entered the womb of his mother who was observing the poṣadha fasting (gso-sbyoṅ) of the 15th day. According to the Lalitavistara (54,18) this full-moon was the full-moon of the month Vaiśākha (April-May). For ten months He remained in the womb Then on the 15th day of the month Uttarā-phalgunī (dbo, February-March), He was born in the Lumbinī park. His birth coincided with the rising of the star Tiṣya (rGyal, γ δ & ι, Cancri). Ṛṣi Vyāsa said "Muni, you were born under the star Tiṣya", and Nāgārjuna said. "When the star Tiṣya rose, her son (came forth) from her side.........". (Now) the year of (the Blessed One's) birth. In China, Či'i-wań (Chao-wang), the fourth emperor (10a) of the Či'u (Chou) dynasty (1052 B.C.), after he had been more than twenty years on the throne, saw all the quarters of

the World enveloped by a light of golden colour. (The emperor) inquired from astrologers "What was meant by this omen?" The astrologers said "A golden son has been born to a great king of the Western Quarter. This must be his light!" The emperor then understood that a Buddha was born in this World, and asked further: "Can I obtain in this life-time His benediction ('Jā-sa<Mongol Jasaγ used here in the sense of benediction)?" They replied. "It will not take place in our life-time. During such and such a dynasty after our time, in a certain year, and on such and such a day, four men attired in such a dress, will bring here (His) benediction." The emperor amazed (at their words), ordered these words to be engraved on a pillar in front of a temple. It was said (in this inscription) that the year of the birth (of the Buddha) was the Wood-Male-Tiger year (śin-pho-stag lo, 1027 B.C.)[15] After many years had elapsed, this temple fell in ruin, and the stone pillar fell also. Then about that time, four monks, bringing with themselves many religious books from India, came to China. The emperor, who was ruling at that time, said: "See who are they, wearing such a strange attire!" No one knew anything about them, except an old woman who said: "In this locality there had been once a temple, and on a stone pillar there had been an inscription, telling that such an event would take place in the future. This stone pilllar has since fallen down. Place it again in position, and read (the inscription)." When they read (the inscription), they saw that the year and month (indicated in the inscription) agreed exactly (with the date of the coming of the four monks), and that only seven days were not accounted for. The Muni having been born, studied grammar and engaged in various sports. He married Yaśodharā (Grags-'dzin-ma) and Gopā (Sa-'tsho-ma). Till the age of 29, He resided in the palace. After that He left His palace and be-

15 The author of the "Blue Annals" follows the usual chronology accepted in China and Japan (1027-947 B.C.)

came a self-ordained monk. For six years He practised austerities and His body became emaciated. Two girls from the town of Sukhāvatī(bDe-ldan), Nandā and Nandābālā by name, having drawn off sixteen times the milk of a thousand cows, prepared a milk-soup, flavoured with honey, and presented it (to (10*b*)
the Buddha). On partaking of this soup, (the Muni's) body became like a golden polished door-bolt. Then the Blessed One settled on a rock not far from the river Nairañjanā, but the rock could not support Him and crumbled down. The gods advised Him to go to Vajrāsana Indra incarnated as the grass-merchant Svastika (bKra-śis). The Bodhisattva took some grass from him, and prepared for Himself a mat. He sat on the mat at the foot of the Bodhi-tree at Vajrāsana. Māra, the Sinner's banner of Doubt fluttered (in the wind), and the Evil One perceived the purpose of the Bodhisattva.[16] Disguised as a messenger, Māra appeared before the Bodhisattva, and said "The town of Kapilavastu has been captured by Devadatta. The palace has been sacked, and the Śākyas murdered! Why are you staying here?" Thoughts of passion, anger and doing harm arose in the Bodhisattva, but immediately He understood them to be due to the influence of Māra, and three antidote thoughts were produced in His mind. Then the host of Māra in battle array, filling the Earth, showered a downpour of weapons of different kinds, and made resound fearful sounds. Daughters of Māra transformed themselves into beautiful maidens and tried to seduce the Bodhisattva, but failed in their efforts. Māra's host was dispersed and put to flight It disappeared behind the outer boundary of the World, and for 12 days did not assemble again. Then during the first night watch, the first three supernatural powers (abhijñā. rddhi-vidha, or power of performing miracles, divya-śrota or power of hearing, and paracitta-jñāna or reading the thoughts of others) were born (in the Bodhisattva). At about midnight

16 Māra or bDud is said to posses two banners one fluttering at the time of a successful action, and the other fluttering at the time of danger

the memory of former existence (the fourth abhijñā-pūrvanivāsānusmarana), was born in Him. During the last night watch the Divine Eye (divya-cakṣu) and the supernatural power of removing defiling influences were born in Him. Having penetrated the meaning of the Four Truths, He became a fully-enlightened Buddha. He thus became Buddha on the full-moon day of the Vaiśākha month of the year Fire-Female-Hog (me-mo-phag—994 B.C.). According to (the Vinaya) that night Rāhu seized the Moon, and Rāhula and Ānanda were born.[17] The calculation of this lunar eclipse is related elsewhere. For seven weeks the Buddha did not preach the Doctrine. Then on being exhorted by Brahmā, he set in motion the Wheel of the Law at Vārānasī for the benefit of the group of five (lṅa- (11a)
sde).[18] The five obtained the degree of Arhat. 80,000 gods perceived the truth. Yaśas and five other disciples, as well as fifty village youths, were made to attain the fruit of Arhatship. Then the Buddha proceeded to the town of Sukhāvatī (bDe-ldan), and established Nandā and Nandabālā in the Truth. Then He ordained Kāśyapa of Uruvilvā with a (11b).
retinue of five hundred ascetics (jatilas) who resided on the banks of the Nairañjanā, as well as Nādi-Kāśyapa and Gayā-Kāśyapa, each with a retinue of 250 ascetics, in all one thousand. Through the precepts of the three miracles all gradually attained Arhatship. Then the Blessed One proceeded to Magadha to the Śītavana (bTaṅ-braṅ) grove. There He established in the Truth (bDen-pa-la bkod-śrotaāpanna) king Bimbisāra (gZugs-čan sñin-po) with several hundred thousand men and 80,000 gods. Then the Buddha proceeded to Rājagṛha and established in Arhatship Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana with a retinue of 250 followers. Henceforth they and the band of Kāśyapa became

17 According to the Ceylon tradition Rāhula was born before Buddha's departure from the Palace.

18 The five were: Kaundinya, Aśvajit (rTa-thul), Vāṣpa (rLans-pa), Mahānāman (Min-čhen) and Bhadrika (bZan-ldan).

known as the "Assembly of 1250 monks". Then at the request of Anāthapiṇḍika, the Buddha proceeded from Rājagṛha to Śrāvastī. Then the Buddha was invited to Śuddhodana to Kapilavastu, and He built the Nyagrodhārāma of Kapilavastu, and stayed there for one year, and established many Śākyas in the Truth. In the same manner, He spread the Doctrine at Śrāvastī, Vaiśalī, Rājagrha, Kauśāmbī, Sāketa (gNas-bčas), the Śiśumāra Hill (Čhu-srin byis-pa gsod), and other places. He spent one summer for His mother's sake in the "Abode of the 33 gods'. Then at Kāśī, He descended from Heaven. He subjugated heretics by performing a great miracle, and exhibited other great deeds The sequence of these events can be reconstructed from the list of the Buddha's summer retreats as recorded by the Mahā-sthaviravādins. According to the (11b)
Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya-nāma (Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3897, In the sNar-than bsTan-'gyur the quotation is found in vol. Ño (cxxviii), fol. 252*a*-252*b*). "Our Teacher Śākyamuni lived for eighty years. He spent 29 years at his Palace For six years He practised austerities. Having attained Enlightenment, He spent the first summer retreat at the site of the (Revolving) of Wheel of the Law (Dharmacakrapravartana). The second summer retreat was spent by Him at Veluvana. The fourth (also) at Veluvana. The fifth at Vaiśalī. The sixth at Go-la (i e Golāngulaparivartana, Tib.mJug-ma bsgyur-ba'i ri, near Rājagṛha). The seventh in the "Abode of the 33 gods" on the platform of the A-rmo-nig stone (n. of a white stone in the "Abode of the 33 gods" Other forms of the same name: A-rmo-li-ga'i rdo-leb—A-mo-li-ga—A-mo-lon-ga—A-mo-li-ka See Mi-la ras-pa'i mgur-'bum,fol.2*b*). The eighth (was spent) at Śiśumāra-giri. The ninth at Kauśāmbī. The tenth at a place called Kapijit (sPre'u-btul) in the forest Pārileyyaka-vana (gLan-po-čhe Pe-ri-le-ya'i nags).[19] The eleventh at Rājagṛha

19 Pārileyyaka-vana, an elephant forest at some distance of the city of Kauśāmbī

(rGyal-po'i khab). The twelfth at the village Verañjā (Verañja'i groṅ). The thirteenth at Caitya-giri (mČhod-rten ri). The fourteenth at the temple of the rāja Jetavana. The fifteenth at the Nyagrodhārāma at Kapilavastu. The sixteenth at Ātavaka (See Mhvtpt. No. 3377). The seventeenth at Rājagṛha. The eighteenth at the cave of Jvālinī (near Gayā). The nineteenth at Jvālinī (Dzwa-li-ni'i brag-phug, also called 'Bar-ba'i phug). The twentieth at Rājagrha Four summer retreats at the ārāma of Mrgamātr (Ma-mo-mri-ga-ri'i kun-dga' ra-ba), east of Śrāvastī. Then twentyone summer retreats at Śrāvastī. The Buddha passed into Nirvāna in the Śāla grove of Kuśanagara in the country of the Mallas. In my opinion this must have been the Water-Female-Hen year (čhu-mo-bya—948-7 B C.) In general (it must be observed) that there exists a great disagreement in the statements of scholars regarding the years of the Birth and Nirvāna of the Teacher

The chapter on the Deeds of the Buddha (fol. 12*a*)

After the Nirvāṇa, a religious council was held at Rājagṛha. Now the hierarchy of the Doctrine: Mahāmuni to Kāśyapa. The latter to Ānanda. Ānanda to Śānavāsika. The latter to Upagupta The latter to Dhītika. The latter to Kisna The latter to Sudarśana. Thus according to the Vinaya-ksudraka. Scholars say that according to the Commentary on the Laṅkāvatāra the Muni (i.e. the Buddha) transmitted the Doctrine to Dhītika, as stated in the Vinaya. From him Bibhaka (Bi-bha-ga). The latter to the bhadanta Buddhananda. The latter to Buddhamitra. The latter to (his) disciple the bhiksu Pārśva (rTsibs). From him to Sunaśata. The latter to Aśvaghosa (rTa-skad). The latter to Amṛta (Ma-śi-ba). The latter to Nāgārjuna. The latter to Āryadeva. The latter to Rāhula. The latter to Saṅghānanda. The latter to the bhiksu Arhat (dGra-bčom-pa). The latter to Ghalaśa. The latter to Kumārada. The latter to Śāyanta. The latter to Vasubandhu. The latter to Manoda. The latter to Haklenayaśas. The latter to bhiksu Simha. Nowadays there exist two commentaries on the Laṅkāvatāra

in the bsTan-'gyur,[20] but this passage is not found in them. Perhaps it may be found in a commentary not included in the bsTan-'gyur. I shall now translate here a stray page from an Indian text on the hierarchy of the Doctrine which is in my possession: "Salutation to the Buddha! The Ārya Madhyāntika (Ñi-ma guṅ-ba) proceeded to Kaśmīra, and with the help of his supernatural powers subdued the nāgarāja Audusta. In the presence of a crowd of inhabitants of the country of Vārānasī, he staged an exhibition of supernatural powers, and then returned to Kaśmīra. With the help of his supernatural powers he journeyed accompanied by a multitude of men to the mountain Gandhamādana (Ri-bo sPos-kyi nad-ldan), and converted nāgas. From that place he obtained saffron (gur-gum) and introduced the Doctrine among the inhabitants of Kaśmīra. He adorned the country with cities, townlets, villages and kingly palaces. He benefitted all, and the inhabitants of Kaśmīra enjoyed plenty. He spread greatly the Doctrine of the Blessed One, and benefitted living (12b) beings by protecting the Doctrine. He entrusted the Doctrine to Ārya Śānavāsika. He exhibited supernatural powers at the time of his Nirvāna Ārya Śānavāsika built a vihāra on the Śirsaparvata (mGo-bo'i ri-bo), and ordained the son of a merchant who became later Ārya Upagupta. On taking the monastic vows, the latter became an Arhat. Then having entrusted the Doctrine to him, Śānavāsika passed into Nirvāna. Ārya Upagupta subdued Māra, the Sinner. He took up his residence in a cave of 18 cubics (khru) in length and 12 cubics in width. Following his seven instructions, monks were able to attain arhatship, and counting them, he was able to fill (the entire cave) with small pieces of wood (thur-ma, a small piece of word of the size of the fourth finger, used in counting and voting in ancient Buddhist vihāras See "Records of Western Countries," transl. by S. Beal, p. 182).

20 Tg mDo, No 4018 and 4019 Ārya-Lankāvatāravrtti and the Ārya-Lankāvatāra-nāma-mahāyānasūtravrttitathāgatahrdayalāmkāra-nāma

At that time there was a Bāla-Cakravarti-rāja called Aśoka (Mya-ṅan-med) who obtained an increasing faith in the Doctrine of the Blessed One, and Ārya Yaśas became his spiritual preceptor (kalyāna-mitra). The king presented golden ornaments to every stūpa of the Blessed One, and to (His) disciples (ñan-thos), but even more than those (stūpas), he honoured the Bodhi-tree. He used to annoint this tree with scented water poured into vessels made of gold, silver, lapis-lazuli (vaidūrya) and crystal. For five years he fed a crowd of 300,000 monks. On the first occasion he offered the Saints food (bsod-sñoms), banners, etc. On a second occasion he honoured those who had entered the Path On the third occasion he presented the virtuous monks with the three religious robes. The king also gradually offered to the community precious stones and 96 golden pieces. He made similar presents to the monastic community in Kaśmīra. In this manner Ārya Upagupta laboured for the benefit of living beings and fully protected the Doctrine. He ordained Ārya (13a) Dhītika who took up the final monastic vows and established him in Arhatship. Having entrusted the Doctrine to him, he passed into Nirvāṇa. Ārya Dhītika in his turn maintained fully the Doctrine, and benefitted living beings. He entrusted the Doctrine to Kṛṣṇa and then passed into Nirvāna. Ārya Kṛṣna in his turn protected the Doctrine, benefitted living beings, and entrusted the Doctrine to Ārya Sudarśana, and passed into Nirvāna. Ārya Sudarśana in his turn fully protected the Doctrine, benefitted living beings and then passed into Nirvāna. About that time in the city of Vaiśalī monks issued a statement containing the ten improper regulations (run-ba ma-yin-pa'i gži bču).[21] In order to expel these monks from the community, seven hundred Arhats, including Sarvakāmin and others, held a council. At that time three hundred years had elapsed since the Parinirvāna of

21 Bus-ton, transl by E Obermiller, II, p. 91, Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol XXIV (Ya), fol 86b

the Blessed One. King Aśoka having died, Sudarśaṇa was reborn in Kaśmīra. His parents gave him the name of Siṃha. Having taken up ordination in the religious order of the Blessed One, he attained the stage of Arhatship. About that time, a king from the country of Uttarapatha named Kaniṣka, visited Kaśmīra in order to meet Siṃha. Ārya Siṃha preached to him the Doctrine. After hearing the Doctrine, the king returned to Uttarapatha (Byaṅ-gi lam). The king then consecrated the Kaniska-caitya, and gave away alms to benefit the Doctrine of the Blessed One, as well as performed meritorious acts in the interest of the Doctrine. He (Simha) preached the Doctrine to monks. At the vihāra of Karṇikavana (rNa-rgyan-gyi nags) in Kaśmīra five hundred Arhats headed by Ārya Pārśva, four hundred venerables (13*b*)
headed by Vasumitra and five hundred Bodhisattvas ~~recited~~ the Abhidharma...... (The king) offered these to the community of monks in Kaśmīra". The above passage was discovered by me in a single leaf of an Indian manuscript which contained an account of the hierarchy of the Doctrine The beginning and the end (of this story) were missing. The passage was translated by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gŽno-nu dpal (i.e. the author of the "Blue Annals") at the palace of Tshon-'dus. The above account of the hierarchy of the Doctrine has been written by me according to the Scriptures. In the Book containing the story of Atīśa, it is said that the Master Nārotapa had entrusted the Doctrine to Atīśa, and then proceeded towards the South, etc. Though there exists many similar accounts, I was unable to write them down. In this account of the hierarchy of the Doctrine, the word Doctrine is used in the sense of (the Doctrine) of the Vinaya.

The Chapter on the hierarchy of the Doctrine (14a).

The Doctrine of Salvation (Prātimoksa) was divided into 18 schools (sde-pa rnam-pa). All the eighteen schools represented the Doctrine of the Buddha. According to the Sumagadhāvadāna (Ma-ga-dha bzaṅ-mo'i rtogs-pa brJod-pa, Kg. mDo,

No. 346) in the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa, his alms-giver (supporter) was king Krkin. Once on his dream, the king saw ten visions: the king of elephants attempting to pass through a window, but unable to get his tail through it ; a thirsty man being pursued by a well ; the offering for sale of one measure (bre) of flour, and of one measure of pearls ; the levelling of prices of sandal and ordinary woods , the taking away of flowers and fruit by robbers from a garden , the frightening of the prince of elephants by a young elephant , a filthy monkey rubbing liniment on another , the coronation of a monkey as a king, and the appearance of a whole piece (14a) of cloth in the hands of eighteen men, after the original piece of cloth had been divided between them, and the vision of a big crowd of people fighting and arguing between themselves. Full of apprehension, that these visions might forebode calamities for himself, the king became frightened, and requested the Blessed One Kāśyapa to interpret (the visions). The Blessed One said " These, O king, do not forebode misfortunes for yourself! In future times when men's lives will last a hundred years, monks, in contraversion of the Doctrine of the Supreme Enlightened Buddha Śākyamuni, though abandoning their houses, will be attached to vihāras and wealth. The vision of an elephant caught by the tail, is a sign of that. A thirsty man pursued by a well signifies that monks while residing in a vihāra will not listen to the teaching of the Doctrine by others. The sale of flour and pearls signifies that in those days the hearers will teach the Doctrine with the object of obtaining subsistence. The vision of the levelling of the prices of sandal and other woods, signifies that the hearers will consider equal the Teaching of Buddha and that of heretical treatises (14b). The taking away by robbers of flowers. etc. from a garden, signifies that in those days corrupt hearers will accomodate laymen with the property of the monastic community. The frightening of the prince of elephants by a young elephant, signifies that monks full of sin will oppress virtuous monks. The vision

of a filthy monkey defiling another, signifies that immoral monks will slander virtuous monks. The coronation of a monkey as king signifies that in those days fools will be crowned as kings (here the word king probably means sangharāja, i.e. the head of the monastic community). An undiminishing piece of cloth in the hands of eighteen men, after the original piece had been divided into eighteen pieces, (14b) signifies that, though the Doctrine of Buddha will be divided into eighteen schools, each school will get the opportunity of obtaining salvation. A crowd of men fighting and arguing between themselves signifies that the setting of the Doctrine of Śākyamuni will be caused by dissensions on points of the Doctrine." In this manner (Kāśyapa) explained to the king the meaning of his (ten) visions. The nine transgressions originated in various countries after a considerable time had elapsed. The manner of the division into eighteen schools: In the time of king Aśoka the division was caused by some dissensions. Thus at first the division was into the Sthaviras (gNas-brtan-pa) and the Mahāsanghikas (dGe-'dun phal-čhen-pa). Then gradually the Mahāsanghikas were divided into eight sub-schools: the Mahāsanghikas proper, the Ekavyavahārikas (Tha-sñad-gčig-pa), the Lokottaravādins ('Jig-rten-las 'das-par smra-ba), the Bahuśrutīyas (Man-du thos-pa), the Prajñaptivādins (bTags-par smra-ba), the Caityaśailas (Caityakas, mČhod-rten-pa), the Pūrvaśailas (Śar-gyi ri-bo-pa), and the Aparaśailas (Nub-kyi ri-bo-pa). The Sthavira school was gradually divided into ten sub-schools. The Sthaviras proper were also called Haimavatas (Gans-ri-pa). The Sarvāstivādins proper were divided into ten branches: the Vibhajyavādins (rNam-par phye-ste smra-ba), instead of whom some mention the Muruṇḍakas (Mu-run-ta-ka), the Vātsīputrīyas (gNas-ma'i bu-pa), the Dharmottarīyas (Čhos-mčhog-pa), the Bhadrayānīyas (bZan-po'i lam-pa), the Saṃmitīyas (Kun-gyis bkur-ba), instead of whom some mention the Āvantakas (A-banta-ka-pa), or again some list the Kurukullakas (Ku-ru-ku-lla-pa, Sa-sgrags-ris-kyi sde,

Kaurukullakas), the Mahīśāsakas (Man-ston-pa,[22] Sa-sruṅ-sde), the Dharmaguptikas (Čhos-sbas-pa), the Suvarṣakas (Čhar-bzan 'bebs-pa), instead of whom some list the Kāśyapīyas ('Od-sruṅs-pa), the Uttarīyas (bLa-ma-pa) and the Saṃkrāntikas ('Pho-bar smra-ba-pa). The above (list) is according to the first tradition. The second tradition from the same root: the Sthaviras, the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Vibhajyavādins (15a) -they are the three basic schools (rtsa-ba'i sde-gsum). The Sthaviras were divided into the Sarvāstivādins and the Vātsīputrīyas. The Sarvāstivādins had also two branches: the Sarvāstivādins (proper) and the Sūtravādins (mDo-sde smra-ba). The Vātsīputrīyas were divided into the Sammitīyas (Maṅ-bkur-ba), the Dharmottarīyas (Čhos-mčhog-pa), the Bhadrayāṇīyas (bZaṅ-po'i lam-pa), and the Sannāgarikas (Groṅ-khyer drug-pa). Thus the Sthaviras were divided into two branches (yan-lag) and six sections (ñin-lag, "fingers"). The Mahāsaṅghikas were divided into eight branches. the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Pūrvaśailas, the Aparaśailas, the Rājagirikas (rGyal-po ri-pa), the Haimavatas (Gaṅs-ri-pa), the Caityakas (mČhod-rten-pa), the Siddhārthakas (Don-grub-pa), the Gokulikas (Ba-glan gnas-pa). The Vibhajyavādins were divided into the Mahīśāsakas (Sa-ston-pa, Cf. Mhvtpt. No. 9080), the Kāśyapīyas, the Dharmaguptikas and the Tāmraśatīyas. In this manner the six branches of the Sthaviras, the eight Mahāsaṅghikas, the four branches of the Vibhajyavādins, in all 18 (schools). Again according to a third tradition: after 137 years had elapsed since the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha, in the time of king Nanda and Mahāpadma, when Mahā-Kāśyapa and others, who had attained the highest intuitive knowledge, had entered the town of Pāṭaliputra, a sthavira called Nāgasena (kLu'i-sde), belonging to the followers of Māra, and one named Sthiramati (Yid-brten-pa), both of whom were very learned, upheld the five bases (gži-lṅa) of the Vinaya advice to others (gžan-la lan-gdab-pa): ignorance (mi- (15*b*)

22 Cf. Tāranātha's Geschichte d. Buddhismus, p 271.

śes-pa), doubt (yid-gñis, vimati), careful investigation (yoṅs-su brtag-pa, parikalpa) and self-maintenance (bdag-ñid gso-bar-byed-pa). This caused the division into two branches the Sthaviras and the Mahāsaṅghikas. In this manner, for sixty years the monastic community was in a state of dissension and turmoil. After two hundred years had elapsed after the Nirvāna of the Buddha, the Sthavira-Vātsīputrīyas held a Religious Council (bsTan-pa yan-dag-par sdud-pa). According to this third tradition, the Mahāsanghikas split into six branches. the Mahāsanghikas proper, the Ekavyavahārikas (Tha-sñad gčig-pa), the Gokulikas (Ba-glan gnas-pa), the Bahuśrutīyas (Maṅ-du thos-pa), the Prajñaptivādins and the Caityakas. The seven branches of the Sarvāstivādins the Sarvāstivādins proper, the Vibhajyavādins, the Mahīśāsakas (Man-ston-pa), the Dharmaguptikas, the Tāmraśatīyas (Gos-dmar-ba), the Kāśyapīyas, and the Samkrāntikas ('Pho-ba-pa) The Vātsīputrīyas had four branches. the Vātsīputrīyas proper, the Dharmottarīyas, the Bhadrayānīyas and the Sammitīyas (Man-pos bkur-ba). Thus seventeen schools, and with the Haimavatas—eighteen. I believe the ācārya Bhavya (Legs-ldan-'byed) must have accepted this third tradition, because immediately after mentioning this third tradition in his treatise Madhyamakahṛdayavṛttitarkajvālā (dbU-ma sñiṅ-po'i 'grel rTog-ge 'bar-ba, sNar-than Tg mDo, vol. XIX (Dza), fol. 155b-164a, Tg. dbU-ma, No 3856), he gave an account of the different views maintained by these sects. Among the Tibetans it is stated that the Mahā-sanghikas considered wine-drinking as belonging to the pārājikas (or sins involving expulsion from the Order),[23] but there exists a book by the Great Pandita (Paṇ-čhen, i. e. Śākyaśrībhadra) which contains a Pratimokṣa-sūtra which was accepted by both schools, the Ekavyavahārikas and the

23 There are four. fornication, theft, taking life and falsely laying claim to the possession of Arhatship or any of the other supernatural gifts. See R. C. Childers. A Dictionary of the Pāli Language, p. 333.

Lokottaravādins, and in this book misconduct is listed among the pārājikas (this text is now preserved in the Žwa-lu dgon-čhen in gTsaṅ. Verbal communication by the Rev. dGe-'dun Čhos-'phel). As to the story about the undiminishing piece of cloth of Emancipation (vimokṣa) of all the eighteen schools, (one has to point out) that the Ātmavādins (bDag-tu smra-ba'i sde-pa) among the eighteen schools do not possess the Path of understanding the doctrine of Nairātma (bDag-med rtogs-pa'i lam-ñid), but instead they accept the vow of Pratimoksa, which is the initial stage on the Path of Liberation. Therefore the story about the undiminishing piece of cloth should be understood (16a) to mean the unimpaired precepts of morality. In the Samayabhedovyūha-cakra[24] composed by the bhadanta Vasumitra (dbYig-gi bśes-gñen), and quoted by the ācārya Vinītadeva (Samayabhedopar-acanacakre nikāyabhedopadeśanasamgraha-nāma, Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4140), it is said that the Pūrvaśailas, the Aparaśailas, the Haimavatas, the Lokottaravādins, and the Prajñaptivādins were the five branches of the Mahāsanghikas. The Kāśyapīyas, the Mahīśāsakas, the Dharmaguptikas, the Bahuśrutīyas, the Tāmraśatīyas, and the Vibhajyavādins were called Sarvāstivādins. The Jetavanīyas (rGyal-byed tshal-gnas), the Abhayagirivāsins ('Jigs-med-gnas), the Mahāvihāravāsins (gTsug-lag-khan-čhen) were Sthaviras. The Kaurukullakas (Sa-sgrags-ri), the Āvantakas and the Vātsīputrīyas were the three branches of the Sammitīyās. Eighteen in all, differing between themselves by their places of residence, their theories and teachers. In the Bhiksuvarśāgraprcchā (dGe-slon-gi dan-po'r lo-dri-ba, Tg. 'Dul-ba, No 4133),[25] composed by the

24 gŽun-lugs-kyi bye-brag bkod-pa'i 'khor-lo, sNar-than Tg mDo, vol XC (U), fol 175a-163b

25 The quotation is found on fol 284b-285a of vol XC (U), mDo, of the sNar-than bsTan-'gyur According to Tibetan scholars the author of the above text has been the founder of Buddhism in Tibet, according to others he was another person bearing the same name In the old indexes of the bsTan-'gyur this text and the Śrāmaṇeravarśāgraprcchā are the only two texts in the Sūtra class ascribed to Padmasambhava

ācārya Padmasambhava and translated (into Tibetan) by Dīpankaraśrījñāna and Nag-tsho (Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba) it is said "the difference between the so-called Kāśyapīyas ('Od-sruns), the Mahīśāsakas (Sa-sruṅs), the Dharmaguptikas (Ĉhos-sruns, and the Mūlasarvāstivādins was one of theory only. They did not have different teachers. The six branches of the Mahāsaṅghikas were the Pūrvaśailas, also the Aparaśailas, the so-called Haimavatas (Gans-gnas), the Vibhajyavādins, further the Prajñaptivādins and the Lokottaravādins. Scholars maintain that the five branches of the Sammitīyas were the Tāmraśatīyas, the Āvantakas, the Kaurukullukas, also the Bahuśrutīyas and the so-called Vātsīputrīyas. The Jetavanīyas, the Abhayagirivāsins ('Jigs-med ri-la gnas-pa) and the Mahāvihāravāsins[26] are said to have been the three branches of the Sthaviras In this manner the Doctrine of the Lion of the Śākyas became divided into eighteen schools. This surely must have happened because of some demerits of former deeds of the Teacher of the World Himself." In the Śrāmanera- (16b)
varśāgraprcchā (Tg. 'Dul-ba, No 4132), translated (into Tibetan) by the pandita Nārāyanadeva and rGyal-ba'i Ŝes-rab or Žan-žun, the Sa-ston-pas[27] 'are mentioned instead of the Mahīśāsakas (Sa-sruns-pa),the Uttaraśailas instead of the Aparaśailas, the Madhyadeśikas (dbUs-pa) instead of the Haimavatas, and the Sa-sgrags-ris instead of the Kurukullukas. As these two Varśāgraprcchās had one author, their meaning should be one, but, it seems to me, that (they had been translated from different originals). If in the book entitled rGyal-po Krki'i luṅ-bstan-pa (Ārya-Svapnanirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (?), Kg. dKon-brtsegs, No. 48) all these eighteen schools are said to have belonged to the Doctrine of the Buddha, if these schools possess different versions of the rite of Ordination (Vinaya), and if the ordination vows can be taken according

26 These three still exist in Ceylon. Codrington · "A Short History of Ceylon" London, 1929, p. 13, 22

27 Mahīśāsaka See Mhvtpt, No 9080

to all these (different) rites, then (one must admit) that, either the Teacher Himself had taught different (ordination) rites, or, that later teachers had elaborated these different rites. If, the Teacher Himself had taught them, then the division into sects must have taken place in the Teacher's life-time, (but this is impossible). If these rites are the work of later teachers, then how is it possible to take the vow of ordination after these rites (for the ordination can be conferred only through a rite established by Buddha Himself)? The matter is subject to debate. (The reply is), (as these) rites were not taught by the Teacher personally, one should not maintain the existence of a division (into schools) in the beginning of the Doctrine. But though later teachers had elaborated different ordination rites, they did so without contradicting the thought of the Teacher Therefore (we have to admit) that through these rites, one can obtain the vow of ordination, and such is the opinion of scholars. Also in the Ārya-mūlasarvāstivādiśrāmanerakārikāvrttiprabhāvati ('Od-ldan, Tg.'Dul-ba, No. 4125) it is stated "The Doctrine of the Buddha is not mere words, but meaning". The eighteen schools cannot be regarded as belonging to the heretical doctrines (nag-po bstan-pa), and according to the Ārya-mūlasarvāstivādiśrāmanerakārikāvrttiprabhāvatī belong to those preaching the Four Noble Truths (čhen-po bstan-pa, i.e. the four ārya-satyāni). In the Munimatālaṃkāra (Thub-pa'i dgons-pa'i rgyan, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3903) by Abhayākaragupta ('Jig-med 'byuṅ-gnas sbas-pa) it is said: "If now (you) do not maintain that the basic texts of these schools represent the words (of the Buddha), how can you then accept the (Vinaya) rites, such as the ordination (upasampadā) rite, and others? If there does not exist a state of monkhood, then there will be a great defect in respect of the theory. (Reply) How can one judge about the existence or non-existence of the ordained state (in these present days)? One cannot perceive it by direct sense-perception, or by inference, because there is no logical premise (in regard to the existence of the rite of ordination). But (on the other hand) one is able to accept the

Vinaya rites, regardless of whether these texts represent or not (17a) the words of the Buddha, such as the rite of ordination (upasampadā), and others. For example, the Vinayadharas maintained that there have been ten kinds of ordained monks:

1. natural monks ("by oneself", raṅ-byuṅ-ñid), as in the case of the Buddha and of Pratyeka-Buddhas.

2. those who had entered into the state free of defects (the so-called 'phags-pa'i sa or ārya stage), as in the case of Ājñeya Kauṇḍinya, Aśvajit, Bhadrika (bZaṅ-ldan), Vāṣpa (rLans-pa) and Mahānāman (Miṅ-čhen).

3. the "come hither monk" ordination, as in the case of Yaśas and others.

4. those who had accepted (the Buddha) as one's Teacher, as in the case of Mahākāśyapa.

5. those who had pleased the Buddha by a (correct) answer, as in the case of Sudatta (Legs-byin).

6. those who had accepted the eight chief (moral) precepts (śīlas), as in the case of Mahāprajāpatī (the eight pārājikas of Buddhist nuns).

7. by messenger, as in the case of Dharmadattā (Čhos-sbyin-ma).

8. by an assembly of five Vinayadharas for the benefit of residents of border countries (mtha'-'khob)

9. by an assembly of ten (Vinayadharas), as in the country of Madhyadeśa.

10. by reciting the three refuge formulæ, as in the case of the sixty men of the group accompanying Bhadrasena (bZan-sde).[28]

Thus, by reading the words authorized (by the Buddha), one can perform the rite of request (gsol-ba'i las, jñāpti-karma), for, after all, they can be accepted as the words of the Tathāgata. Therefore it has been said that in Buddhism one should base oneself on meaning, and not on (mere) words." The Chapter on the division into the eighteen schools. (17b).

28 gLen-'bum by dGe-'dun grub, p. 3b ff

In this country of Snows there exist three lineages of ordination: The first lineage: Ācārya Nāgārjuna, Bhavya, Śrīgupta (dPal-sbas), Jñānagarbha (Ye-śes sñin-po), Śāntarakṣita (Ži-ba-'tsho), and then (transmitted) through sBa Ratna. This lineage of bla-čhen dGoṅs-pa rab-gsal and other great teachers, has been transmitted in Khams. In dbUs and gTsaṅ it has been handed down through kLu-mes and others. The second lineage: the lineage of rGyal-ba'i śes-rab of Žaṅ-žuṅ, the disciple of the three Pālas, who had been the disciples of Paṇḍita Dharmapāla. This line was called the "Line of the Upper Vinaya" (sTod-'Dul-ba).

The third lineage the disciple of Nāgārjuna-Guṇamati, Ratnamitra, Śrī Dharmapāla, Guṇasāgara, Dharmamāla, (17b) Ākaragupta, the mahā-paṇḍita Śākyaśrībhadra. The latter ordained many monks in Tibet, including the Sa-skya paṇ-čhen and others. Through rDo-rje dpal and Byaṅ-čhub dpal (the rite) was transmitted to the four "assemblies" (čhos-luṅ tshogs-pa) and others. The great bhadanta Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the second Munīndra, also obtained monkhood through the lineage of the Paṇ-čhen (Śākyaśrībhadra). In the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra (ed. Ganapati Śāstri, III, p. 616 ff) it is said: "In four hundred years after the death of the Tathāgata, there will appear a monk named Nāga (kLu). He will benefit the Doctrine, and will attain the pramuditā stage, and will live for six hundred years. This Great Soul will attain realization with the help of the Vidyā Mahāmayurī, and will understand the meaning of various śāstras, as well as the meaning of non-reality (dṅos-po med-pa). At the time of giving up his body, he will be reborn in Sukhāvatī. He will gradually and surely attain Buddhahood. A monk, named Asaṅga, learned in the subject-matter of the śāstras, will classify sūtras into those of "direct" (nīta-artha) and "indirect" (neya-artha) meaning. He will also be a teacher of worldly sciences, and will become the author of śāstras." These two teachers, mentioned in the (above) prophecy, greatly spread the doctrine of the Pratimokṣa, and the Mahāyāna. When

Nāgārjuna appeared in this world, there were many immoral monks, and they were expelled by the Teacher, and the Doctrine received a new impetus. Now, according to the book of rGya-ma dbOn-ston, which contains a prophecy by the Tārā to Śākyaśrībhadra (Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen) about his becoming the Buddha Bhāgīrathī of the Bhadrakalpa (i. e. one of the Thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa): "To the West of Śrīsthāna, and to the East of Śrīparvata, in the town of Puṇyāvatī (bSod-nams—daṅ-ldan-pa) was born the ācārya Nāgārjuna. At the age of 28, he was ordained by the upādhyāya Vimalatejas (Dri-ma-med-pa'i gzi-brjid), who had attained the stage of Training (Prayoga-mārga), and the ācārya called Jñāna, who was a Śrotaāpanna." Most of the authorities state that he was ordained by Rāhulabhadra. All the same, this teacher and the ācārya Asaṅga belonged to the Mūlasarvāstivādins. They are the two great propagators of (18a) the Doctrine. Tibetan monks belong to the lineage of the ācārya Nāgārjuna. Numerous treatises and commentaries composed by these two ācāryas exist in translations in Tibet. The Chapter on the Lineage which handed down the vow of ordination.

King Aśoka (Mya-ṅan-med), who acted as supporter of the Doctrine in India, was, as stated above, very famous. I was unable to write down the history of his (reign), as I did not hear of any one possessing an Indian royal chronicle (relating) the succession (of reigns).

The Royal Chronicle of Tibet: It is said that there were twelve small feudal principalities (rgyal-phran) in Tibet. These were merely small states, and there does not exist an account of the fostering of the Doctrine by their descendants. For this reason, Tibetan scholars wrote the story of the Tibetan kings, beginning with king gÑa'-khri btsan-po only. I shall do likewise. Some favour fanciful accounts relating how Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas had visited Tibet on seven occasions, that during his first visit the country of Tibet was covered with water, that during his second visit the waters had subsided,

and that there were fruit-trees, forests, and a few stags and kyangs. In the story of the "Later" Lineage it is said that when Dam-pa died at the age of 517, he passed into Nirvāna at Diṅ-ri. The above account is only a fiction. Without contradicting scriptures and reason, one may safely state that the country of Tibet was similar to that of India in regard to country and people, etc. , and that its origin goes back to the beginning of the present Cosmic Period (kalpa) In the biginning of the Kali-yuga, before the appearance of the Teacher Muni, when the five Pāṇḍava brothers led to battle a host consisting of twelve or thirteen divisions (yan-lag), a king named Rūpati, who fought at the head of his army, suffered a defeat and fled to the region situated inside the snowy Mountains disguised as a woman. His descendants settled there "Nowadays his line is called Bod," so said the ācārya Prajñāvarman (Śes-rab go-cha). In the old chronicles of the Past (it is said) "The ancient name of this country was Pu-rgyal. Later it was called Bod." This agrees with the account of the ācārya Prajñāvarman. Especially in the Vinayavibhanga (Luṅ-rnam-'byed, Kg. rGyud, No. 3) it is said: "It was called Bod in the life-time of the Muni." Also it is said in the Kāla-cakra. "To Āryavarta, Bod (Tibet), etc." Now, though (18b) there is no agreement as to whether gÑa'-khri btsan-po belonged th the race of the Mahā-Śākyas or the "Village" Śākyas, or to the Śākya-Licchavīs, the prophecy contained in the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra concerning the period from Sroṅ-btsan till Dar-ma is very clear. In this chapter of the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra it is said. "(he) appeared in the Licchavī race." Thus it is correct to state that the kings (of Tibet) belonged to the Licchavī race. Thus the first (king) was Khri-btsan-po 'Od-lde. Then Mu-khri btsan-po. Diṅ-khri btsan-po. So-khri btsan-po. Mer-khri btsan-po. gDags-khri btsan-po. Sribs-khri btsan-po. These are the Seven gNam-gyi khri ("Heavenly Thrones"). The son of the last named king-Gri-gum btsan-po. sPu-de Guṅ-rgyal. These are the two "lTeṅs of the Air" (Bar-gyi lteṅs). E-śo-legs. De-śo-legs.

The-śo-legs. Gu-ru-legs. 'Broṅ-zi-legs. I-śo-legs. These are the six "Earthly Legs" (Sa-'i legs). Za-nam ži-lde. lDe-'phrul Nam-gzuṅ btsan. Se-rnol nam-lde. Se-rnol-po-lde. lDe-rnol-nam. lDe-rnol-po. lDe-rgyal-po. lDe-sprin-btsan. These are the "Eight lDe". rGyal To-ri loṅ-btsan. Khri-btsan or Khri-sgra dpuṅs-btsan Khri-thog. rJe-thog btsan. Lha-tho-tho-ri gÑan-btsan. Khri-gñan-gzuṅs-btsan 'Bro-gnan lde'u. sTag-ri gnaṅ-gzigs. gNam-ri Sroṅ-btsan. Sron-btsan sgam-po. Gun-sroṅ gun-btsan. Man-sron man-btsan. 'Dus-sron maṅ-po-rJe. kLun-nam-'phrul-gyi rgyal-po * Khri-lde gtsug-brtan Mes-ag-tshoms. Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan. Mu-ne btsan-po. Khri-lde-sron-btsan. Ral-pa-čan. Khri 'U-dum-btsan Dar-ma. The latter's son gNam-lde 'Od-sruṅs The latter's son dPal 'Khor-btsan, who was killed by his subjects, and lost control over dbUs and gTsan. He had two sons Khri bKra-śis rtsegs-pa-dpal and sKyid-lde Ñi-ma mgon. Khri bKra-śis rtsegs-pa-dpal stayed in Upper gTsan, but Ñi-ma mgon moved to mÑa'-ris. The latter had three sons dPal-gyi mgon, bKra-śis lde-mgon and lDe-gtsugs (19a)
mgon. The eldest son ruled in Mar-yul. The middle son ruled in sPu-hrans. The youngest in Žan-žun, which region forms part of Gu-ge. bKra-śis-mgon had two sons. 'Khor-re and Sron-ṅe. 'Khor-re had two sons: Nāgarāja and Devarāja. 'Khor-re, the father and his two sons were ordained, and handed over the government to Sron-ne. His son was Lha-sde. The latter's son was 'Od-lde, who succeeded his father. The two younger brothers Byan-čhub 'od and Ži-ba 'od took up ordination. 'Od-lde's son was rTse-lde. His son was 'Bar-sde. Then bKra-śis-lde. Bha-lde. Nāgadeva. bTsan-phyug-lde. bKra-śis-lde. Grags-btsan-lde. Grags-pa-lde. A-śog-lde. His sons 'Ji-da-rmal and A-nan rmal. The latter's son Re'u-rmal. Then Saṅgha-rmal. 'Ji-da-rmal's son

* kLun-nam-'phrul-gyi rgyal-po or 'Phrul-gyi rgyal-po is a title of king 'Dus-sron (676-704 A.D.) The title is mentioned in chronicle N 250 of the Paris collection See Bacot, F. W. Thomas, Ch. Toussaint: "Documents de Touen-houang rélatifs à l'histoire du Tibet", Paris,, 1940-6 pp 112, 149

the alphabet for a long time (the king being an incarnation of the All-knowing Avalokiteśvara pretended to study the alphabet). 'Thon-mi translated the Ratnamegha-sūtra (mdo-sde dKon-mčhog sprin). Further the king, in his capacity of Protector of the Doctrine (čhos-kyi bdag-po), preached many religious texts (čhos-sna), such as the sPyan-ras-gzigs yi-ge drug-ma, the Ārya Yamantaka ('Phags-pa gŚin-rJe'i gśed), the Dharmapāla Nātha (Čhos-skyoṅ mGon-po), the Devī (Lha-mo) and others. He also initiated many into the practice of concentration, and there appeared many who attained supernatural powers. He also established numerous meditative hermitages (sgom-gnas), and erected the vihāras of Khra-'brug of dbUs, of mTha'-'dul and Yaṅ-'dul. The two queens also founded the vihāra of 'Phrul-snaṅ and that of Ra-mo-čhe (20*b*)
The king introduced a legal code and established punishments for murder, robbery and adultery. He taught his subjects writing and the good law, such as the sixteen human laws (mi-čhos), etc.[31] Except for the monastic ordination, the remaining part of the Doctrine received a great circulation, and the kingdom of Tibet became virtuous. In a later period, a minister of Khri-lde gtsug-brtan discovered an inscribed copper-plate in a rocky ravine at 'Čhims-phu, on which were inscribed the words of king Sroṅ-btsan "My nephew bearing my name with the addition of the word "lde", will spread the Doctrine of the Buddha". Khri-lde gtsug-brtan thinking that "this lde must be me", built several vihāras, including that of Brag-dmar mgrin-bzans. He invited (Buddhist) priests who had been expelled from Li-yul (Khotan), and many Buddhist monks (ho-shang) from China. Though the king honoured the Doctrine, the Tibetans did not accept ordination. After the death of the king, Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan mounted the throne. There was a powerful minister called Ma-žaṅ, who was an enemy of the Doctrine. He ordered

31 The list is given in the Matriculation Course of Classical Tibetan, by bLa-ma Mingyur rDo-rJe and E Denison Ross, Calcutta, 1911, p 7

the deportation of Buddhist monks to another country, and carried the image of Buddha of Lha-sa (Jo-bo) away to sKyi-roṅ (on the border of Nepāl). He transformed vihāras into butchers' shops, and though the king had faith in the Doctrine, he was unable (to stop the persecution). When the Chinese Buddhist priests (ho-shang), resident at Ra-mo-če, were returning to China, the eldest (of them) accidently left behind one of his shoes, and said: "The Doctrine will again return to Tibet." According to these words, the Doctrine returned. On hearing parts of this story, those who were ready to destroy the Holy Doctrine, used to say: "The shoe that was left behind by the Mahāyāna ho-shang" (the Ho-shang Mahāyāna became later the founder of a heretical school which was defeated by Kamalaśīla, and then expelled from Tibet. The rÑiṅ-ma-pas use this saying when belittling members of opposing sects). The king was assisted by friends of the Doctrine, such as 'Gos-rgan, dBa' Saṅ-śi, dBa' gSal-snaṅ and others. Saṅ-śi and gSal-snan proceeded to the Imperial Court of China. On presenting their request to the emperor, they met a ho-shang, who was an adept of mystic concentration (dhyāna, ch'an), and obtained from him instruction in mystic concentration. This ho-shang, endowed with great prescience, said to Saṅ-śi "You are the person indicated in the prophecy found in the scriptures of the Buddha, which say that there will appear a Bodhisattva who will establish the Holy Doctrine in the country of the "Red-faced" (mdoṅ-dmar-čan, i.e. Tibetans). Because Tibet is the special field of the propagation of the Doctrine by the Indian upādhyāya Śāntarakṣita, except him, no one else will be able to help you!" Further, another Buddhist priest possessed of supernatural knowledge, prophecised to Saṅ-śi in the presence of Bum-saṅs dbaṅ-po that Saṅ-śi and gSal-snaṅ were both manifestations of Bodhisattvas. They brought with them from China about one thousand metrical compositions (bam-po, containing about 300 verses each), but being afraid of Ma-žaṅ's persecution, they buried them. Later gSal-snaṅ was appointed Master of

the Palace (khaṅ-dpon) in Maṅ-yul (Upper gTsaṅ). He built there two vihāras, and assigned to them peasants for their upkeep (rkyen-ris). He then visited Nepāl and met there with Śāntarakṣita. They held lengthy consultations and agreed, saying: "We should establish the Doctrine of the Buddha in Tibet." He (gSal-snaṅ) obtained from the (21a) upādhyāya a Mental Creative Effort towards Enlightenment. On three occasions a voice resounded from Heaven, saying: "Rejoice!" Then he journeyed to Bodh-gayā and made offerings to the Bodhi tree, and then, in the middle winter month, a heavy shower of rain fell. On returning to Tibet, he reported the matter to the king in dbUs, and conveyed (to the king) the words spoken by the upādhyāya. The king said. "You might be punished by Ma-žaṅ! Go away quickly! I shall secretly confer with 'Gos-rgan and others, and shall send an invitation to the upādhyāya." Then 'Gos-rgan began an intrigue against (Ma-žan) and the latter was buried alive in a tomb at sTod-luṅs (according to a popular Tibetan tradition the minister was told by a mo-pa or diviner to remain within a tomb in order to protect the king from an accident. When the minister had entered the tomb, the door of the tomb was locked behind him and he remained inside the tomb). Then gSal-snan sent an invitation to the upādhyāya, who settled in Lha-sa. The king ordered his ministers to examine the doctrine and the character of the teacher, saying that should he prove virtuous, he, the king, would also extend an invitation to him. The ministers then visited the upādhyāya, and inquired: "What was his doctrine?" The upādhyāya replied: "My doctrine is to follow whatever was proved correct after examining it by reason, and to avoid all that does not agree with reason." The king and the ministers having agreed between themselves, invited the upādhyāya to bSam-yas. The king and the upādhyāya met at 'Um-bu tshal (this is the palace called Brag-dmar 'Um-bu tshal). The king greeted the upādhyāya, and the latter asked the king: "Did you forget that we both had expressed the solemn wish

to spread the Holy Doctrine in Tibet in front of a stūpa in Nepāl at the time of the preaching of the Doctrine by Kāśyapa?" The king replied: "Because of my limited mental concentration, I am unable to recollect it!" Thereupon the upādhyāya blessed the king, and the king remembered his former rebirths. Then the upādhyāya expounded to the king many doctrines, including that of the ten virtues (dge-ba bču, daśa-kuśalāni, see Mahāvyutpatti, No. 1685) and that of the eighteen dhātus. But the great gods and demons of Tibet became wrathful. Lightning struck the palace on the dMar-po-ri, and the royal palace of 'Phan-thaṅ was carried away by (21*b*)
water. Harvest was damaged, and a great epidemic took place. This encouraged the ministers, who were looking for mischief, and they used to say: "This was done by the Doctrine! This Indian ascetic should be expelled!" (the text has a-tsa-ra<Skrt. ācārya, used in Tibetan to denote an Indian ascetic, a sādhu). The king then offered a large quantity of gold to the upādhyāya and told him about the situation. The upādhyāya then said: "I shall go to Nepāl! The Tibetan asuras are displeased! There is in Jambudvīpa a great and learned mantrin called Padmasambhava. I shall invite him, and you, king, should yourself send an invitation to him." When the upādhyāya arrived in Nepāl, the ācārya Padma happened to be there also, and the king's messengers tendered him the king's invitation (to visit Tibet). On his way (to Tibet), the twelve guardian goddesses (bsTan-ma bču-gñis) at first made an attempt to harm him, but he subdued them, and then after initiating them, he entrusted to them the guardianship of the Doctrine. He (Padmasambhava) then journeyed gradually towards the northern upland, and there subdued the gods of Thaṅ-lha, and other deities. On his arrival at bSam-yas, a god belonging to the retinue of the four Guardian Kings, in order to convince the king incarnated into a small child who uttered the following words: "The gods of Thaṅ-lha have struck with lightning the dMar-po ri! Śam-bu carried away 'Phaṅ-thaṅ by water!", and told in

detail all similar incidents. All these (attempts) were mastered by the ācārya. They then laid the foundation of the great vihāra of bSam-yas. The upādhyāya (Śāntarakṣita) was then again invited (to Tibet), and the Lord (i.e. the image of the Buddha of the J̌o-khaṅ in Lha-sa) was again brought back from Maṅ-yul (on the border of Nepāl in gTsaṅ province), and placed again in the 'Phrul-snaṅ temple. From the Hare year (yos-lo, 787 A.D.)[32] / till the Sheep year (lug-lo, 791 A.D.), the king built the vihāra, together with its branch temples (gliṅ-phran, branch temples representing the continents surrounding Mount Meru, symbolized by the chief temple of the vihāra), and the wall. When the king was propitiating the yi-dam Hayagrīva, there resounded a loud neighing which filled almost the entire Jambudvīpa. At first the "Seven Men on Probation" (sad-mi mi-bdun) took up ordination. During the king's reign twelve great monastic colleges were established, as far as Khams. Meditative monasteries (sgom-grwa) were established at Yer-pa and 'Čhims- (22a) phu. It is known that many inmates of Yer-pa possessed the faculty of soaring in the air. The subsistence of monks was furnished by the king. Most of the texts of the Sūtra and Tantra classes were then translated and corrected through teaching and study. Later Dīpaṅkara said. "Even in India there did not exist a Doctrine, such as existed in Tibet in those days!" The Tibetan kings, till king Ral-pa-čan, continued to maintain the deeds of their ancestors. Indeed such supporters and monks merit honour. The Chapter on the establishment of the Doctrine by the religious king, uncle and nephew (i.e. Sroṅ-btsan, Khri-sroṅ lde'u-btsan and Ral-pa-čan).

From Sroṅ-btsan to 'Od-sruṅs: in the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra it is said: "To this Doctrine of the Tathāgata various persons will give support. They will appear in the region of the

32 Fire-Female-Hare year (me-mo-yos) according to Bu-ston. See History of Buddhism, translated by E. Obermiller, 1932, II, p 189.

North at that time, in a country called Lha-ldan or "The Abode of Gods" (devavān), situated within the Snowy Mountains (Himālayas). There will appear a king named "God of men" (the Tibetan text has Mi'i-lha or Mānavadeva, the Sanskrit text has Mānavendra), born in the race of the Licchavīs. He will achieve the object of his mantras (mantrārthasiddha) and will be very prosperous. The king will master the spell (vidyā, rig-pa) named Bhogavatī (loṅs-spyod-ldan), and will rule for eighty years, abstaining from brigandage. (In the next life also) he will achieve success with the mantras called Śītalā, Śāntikā, Pauṣṭikā, the one known to the World as the Tārā, the Devī Paṇḍaravāsinī (Lha-mo Gos-dkar-mo), Mahāśveta-parahitodyuktā (dKar-mo čhen-mo gžan-phan-brtson), and Akhinnamanasāṃ sadā (rTag-tu yid-ni mi-skyo-ba). The above and others had been taught (by the Buddha to Mañjuśrīkumāra). Also several kings are mentioned of different colours, forms and appearances, as well as the mleccha-rājas who dwell in the Himā- (22b)
layas, and who also worship the Teacher, the kings Vṛṣa (Khyu-mčhog) and Suvṛṣa (Khyu-mčhog bzaṅ-po), Bhūbhāsa (Sa-'od , Bhāvasu in the text of the MMK)[33] also Sa-'od bzaṅ (Subhūbhāsa ; Śubhasu in the MMK), also Parākrama (Pha-rol gnon-ñid; Bhākrama in the MMK), Padākrama (rKaṅ-pa'i 'gros), Bhūgupta (Sa-sruṅ , Bhāgupta in the MMK), also Vatsaka (Be'u), and Bhāsvat ('Od-ldan),[34] the Last (the Tibetan translator rendered paścima of the Sanskrit text by "last", instead of "Westerner"). In the end (the kings) Udaya ('Čhar-rgyal) and Jiṣṇu (Ñaṅ-tshul , Jihnuna in the MMK). (Then) there will be different kinds of mlecchas (kla-klo), and after them morals will deteriorate, and the country will

33 K P. Jayaswal: "Imperial History of India" (Lahore, 1934), p. 20 ff. p. 40 of the Sanskrit text of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa corrected by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, appended to the volume. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba, author of the "Blue Annals," understood the passage of the MMK to refer to Tibet

34 According to 'Gos lo-tsā-ba Vatsaka and Bhāsvat ("the Luminous") were different kings.

be enjoyed by foreigners." Thus it was prophecised. The Northern Region (byaṅ-gi phyogs) and Himavat (Kha-ba-čan, the Abode of Snows) are very famous (and therefore do not require a description). Lha-ldan means Lha-sa. "He will rule for eighty years" (means) "lived for eighty-two years". (Because) during this period Guṅ-sroṅ guṅ-btsan also ruled for a short time. The Tārā (sGrol-ma) Paṇḍaravāsinī (Gos-dkar-mo) and Mahāśvetā (dKar-mo čhen-mo) /are/ the three chief queens (of king Sroṅ-btsan)· the Imperial Princess (Ch.kung-chu> T. Koṅ-Jo), the Nepalese Princess (Bal-mo bza') and the 'Briṅ-gza'-ma Thod-dkar.[35] "Born in the race of the Licchavīs" (means) that (the king) will belong to the royal house of Vaiśālī (Yaṅs-pa-čan). "Mleccha-rāja" (means) that the king will rule also in the Tā-žig (<Tājik, here probably the Oxus basin and the Pāmir) country of the West. (The words) "several kings" (mean) the kings that followed after him: Vṛṣa (Khyu-mčhog) /means/ Maṅ-sron, Suvṛṣa (Khyu-mčhog bzaṅ-po)—kLuṅ-nam (i.e. the king kLuṅ Nam-'phrul-gyi rgyal-po), Bhūbhāsa (Sa-'od)—Mes Ag-tshom, Subhūbhāsa (Sa-'od bzaṅ)—Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan, Parākrama (Pha-rol gnon) —Mu-ne btsan-po, Padākrama (rKaṅ-pa'i 'gros)—Khri-lde sroṅ-btsan, Bhūgupta (Sa-sruṅs)—Ral-pa-čan, Vatsaka (Be'u)—gLaṅ Dar-ma, Bhāsvat' ('Od-ldan)—'Od-sruṅs. (The words) ldan-pa and bsruṅs-pa (the text has bsruṅ-pa) have the meaning of āpti (gain, acquisition). "In the end (the kings) Udaya ('Čhar-rgyal, "Rising King") and Jiṣṇu (Ṅaṅ-tshul") —while some (authors) maintain that by these words a Mongol king (Hor-rgyal) who (will appear) from the quarter of the rising sun and will hold sway over Tibet (Bod) /was meant/, in my opinion this may also mean (king) dPal 'Khor-btsan, who was murdered by sÑags in the valley of Śar-kha ("Valley facing the rising sun", according to 'Gos lo-tsā-ba

35 Here 'Gos lo-tsā-ba misunderstood the names of the mantras, and took them to represent the three queens of king Sroṅ-btsan 'Bri-bza' Thod-dkar is often given as the name of Sroṅ-btsan's mother.

the name Śar-kha indicates here the king Udaya, 'Čhar-rgyal or "Rising King"). After that, because there was no sovereign king in the whole of Tibet, "morals deteriorated" (lugs rnam-par žig-go).

The Chapter on the Prophecy about Tibetan kings contained in the (Mañjuśrī)-mūlatantra. (23*a*).

(The story of the (Tibetan kings) from Sroṅ-btsan to Dar-ma is well told in the "Chinese Annals" (rGya'i Yig-tshaṅ) translated into Tibetan by the bLa-ma Rin-čhen grags-pa.[36] I shall quote from it according to the text of the lord (mi'i bdag-po) Kun-dga' rdo-rje (author of the Deb-ther dmar-po or "Red Annals". This shows that 'Gos lo-tsā-ba did not have the original rGya'i Yig-tshaṅ, but quoted the Deb-ther dmar-po, which contains extensive passages from the rGya'i Yig-tshan).)

The Či'u (Chou) dynasty had thirty-six emperors, who ruled for one hundred years. In the time of the fourth Chou emperor Chao-wang (T. Či'u-dbaṅ), the Buddha appeared in the World. After the end of the Chou dynasty, there were two emperors Tshiṅ-hri hwaṅ (i.e. Ch'in Shih huang-ti and his son, murdered in 207 B.C.). Then the throne was seized by Han Kao-dzuṅ (Kao-ti or Kao-tsu, 202 B.C). During the reign of the twelfth emperor (of this dynasty), a minister called Aṅ-maṅ (Wang-mang 9 A.D.), led a revolt, and seized the throne for eighteen years. Then gLe'u (Liu) Goṅ-bu (Kuang Wu-ti, 23 A.D.) of the Han clan, killed Wang-mang, and seized the government. His son Miṅ-ti (Ming-ti) then became emperor (58-75 A.D.). In his time a paṇḍita called Dzu-ha-la (<Chu-Fa-lan, Dharmaratna),[37] who had attained the stages of Truth

36 This is the rGya'i deb-ther zu-thu-čhen, translated by 'U-gyaṅ-Ju, and edited by Gu-śri (<Ch kuo-shih) Rin-čhen grags

37 P. Pelliot, J. As (1914), p 387, n. 3, T'oung-Pao (1920), p. 345, 429 ff On the legendary character of the story of the dream of emperor Ming-ti, see H Maspero, "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'Empereur Ming Etude critique des sources" BEFEO, X, pp. 95-130, Pelliot, T'oung Pao (1920), p. 255 ff.

and Perception, arrived in China and brought with himself the doctrine of the Hīnayāna. He erected the temple of Pa'i-mi'i-sa(<Ch. Pai-ma-ssŭ at Ho-nam-hu(<Ch. Honan-fu), and translated religious texts. From that time onwards the Doctrine spread in China. Then in the time of the emperor Hwaṅ Han-te (Hsien-ti. 189-220 A.D.), the 24th emperor of the Han dynasty, the minister called Tsha-bo-tsha (Ts'ao-ts'ao, d.220 A.D.) seized the throne, and for five generations ruled over the country. Then the minister 'U-ma (Ssŭ-ma Chao) seized the throne. Later the He'u-Tsiṅ (Hou-Chin) dynasty, had two branches· Tuṅ-Tsiṅ (Tung-Chin) and bSi-Tsiṅ (Hsi-Chin). In the time of the bSi-Tsiṅ (Hsi-Chin) dynasty, (an embassy) was sent to bring the sandal image of the Buddha (tsan-dan Ǯo-bo). When the image was brought, the bSi-Tsin (Hsi-Chin) dynasty came to an end, and a provincial governor (žiṅ-gi čhiṅ-saṅ<Mongol čingsang <Ch. ch'êng-hsiang) became emperor. The military officer, who brought the sandal image of the Lord, seized bSi-čhon (Ssŭ-chuan) and twenty-four district towns (či'u<Ch. chou, district), and became independent. The descendants of the "Governor" emperor (Čhiṅ-saṅ rgyal-po) received from the descendants of the "General" emperor (dmag-dpon rgyal-po) the sandal image of the Lord, relics (riṅ-bsrel) and Paṇḍitas, and honoured them. The line of the "Governor" emperor having come to an end, there appeared two emperors, father and son, called gYaṅ-ti of Su'i (Yang-ti of the Sui dynasty). Then Thaṅ Ka'o-dzuṅ (T'ang Kao-tsu) seized the throne. He was the first emperor of the Thaṅ (T'ang) dynasty. He seized the throne in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (Sa-pho-stag—618 A.D.) and ruled for nine years. He died at the age of seventy. (23*b*)
It is said that this Earth-Male-Tiger year (618 A.D.) was the 1566th year since the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. So it is said in the printed "Annals of China" (rGya'i deb). His son Thaṅ Tha'i-dzuṅ (T'ang T'ai-tsung) mounted the throne in the Fire-Male-Dog year (Me-pho-khyi—627). After nine years had passed, in the year Wood-Male-Horse (Śiṅ-pho-

rta—634 A.D.), the emperor exchanged presents with the Tibetan king and made a treaty of friendship. The Tibetans requested that a Chinese Imperial Princess may be sent (as spouse for the king), but this request was not granted. The Tibetans then took offence, and for about eight years waged war. On the return of their troops, (the minister) 'Gar sToṅ-btsan was sent with presents of gold and various precious stones (to the Imperial Court). Wun-śiṅ koṅ-Jo (Wên-ch'êng kung-chu), daughter of Th'ai-dzuṅ (T'ai-tsung), was sent in the year Iron-Female-Ox (lčags-mo-glan—641 A.D.). According to the Chinese Annals seven hundred years have passed from that date till the year Fire-Male-dog (Me-pho-khyi—1346 A.D.) of 'Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rJe's time. This appears to correspond to the year Iron-Female-Serpent (lčags-mo-sbrul—1341 A.D.), which precedes the Fire-Dog year (me-khyi—1346 A.D.) by five years. Than Th'ai-dzun (T'ang T'ai-tsung) ruled for twenty-four years. He died in the year Earth-Female-Hen (Sa-mo-bya—649 A.D.) in his fifty-second year. His son Čhi Ka'u-dzun (Li Chih Prince Chin and Emperor T'ang Kao-tsung) ascended the throne. In the year Iron-Male-Dog (lčags-pho-khyi—650 A.D.) of his reign Sron-btsan sgam-po died. His son Gun-sron guṅ-btsan having died before (in the life-time of his father) Maṅ-sron man-btsan mounted the throne at the age of thirteen. He befriended the minister 'Gar, who ruled for fifteen years.[38] Then 'Gar died. The sovereigns of China and Tibet at times had friendly relations, at times fought each other about frontiers, with changing fortunes. Especially in the twenty-first year after the coronation of Man-sroṅ, in the year Iron-Male-Horse (lčags-pho-rta—670 A.D.) Tibetan troops invaded the T'ang empire, and conquered the entire country of the Uighurs (yu-gur-gyi yul). The king died at the age of forty-two in the year Earth-Female-Hare (Sa-mo-yos—679

38 I.e. the king ruled the country for fifteen years assisted by the minister 'Gar.

A.D.), which was the thirtieth year of his reign. The princess Wên-ch'êng, after spending forty years in Tibet, died in the year Iron-Male-Dragon (lčags-pho-'brug—680 A.D.). The emperor Čhi Ka'o-dzuṅ (Kao-tsung) ruled for thirty-five years, from the year Earth-Female-Hen (Sa-mo-bya—649 A.D.) till the year Water-Female-Sheep (Čhu-mo-lug—683 A.D.). He died at the age of fifty-six in the year Water-Sheep (683 A.D.). A lady who was formerly in the retinue of the empress of T'ai-dzuṅ (T'ai-tsung), and who had become a nun after the death of T'ai-tsung, abandoned her religious vows, and became the queen of Čhi Ka'o-dzuṅ (24a)
(Kao-tsung). When Kao-tsung died, he left behind his Will, which said that his son should be installed on the imperial throne. But the queen herself took over the government. Since she belonged to the 'U (Wu) family, she was named 'U-Ji-then (Wu-tsê-t'ien).[39] She waged wars and wrested away much land from Tibet and other kingdoms. This empress was very wicked, and ruled for twenty-one years, from the Wood-Male-Ape year (Śin-pho-spre'u—684 A.D), and died at the age of eighty in the year Wood-Male-Dragon (Śiṅ-pho-'brug—704 A.D.). In the same year 'Du-sroṅ maṅ-po-rJe also passed away, after having ruled for twenty-six years. After that, Dzun-dzun (Chung-tsung), son of Čhi Ka'o-dzun and the empress, mounted the throne in the year Wood-Female-Serpent (Śin-mo-sbrul—705 A.D.).[40] In the same year, 'Du-sron's son Khri-lde gtsug-brtan was installed on the throne. Dzuṅ-dzun (Chung-tsung) ruled for six years, and died at the age of fifty-five in the year Iron-Male-Dog (lčags-pho-khyi—710 A.D.). In the year Iron-Female-Hog (lčags-mo-phag—711 A.D.) his younger brother Wi-dzuṅ (Jui-tsung) was installed on the throne. The Tibetan king sent a request for an Imperial Princess, and in the year Water-Male-Mouse (Čhu-pho-byi-ba—712 A.D.) the

39 L. Wieger Textes historiques, II, p 1360 ff
40 I.e. resumed the throne.

Kim-śiṅ koṅ-Jo (Chin-ch'êng kung-chu) was sent to Tibet. In the same year Wi-dzuṅ (Jui-tsung) died at the age of fifty-five. In the year Water-Female-Ox (čhu-mo-glaṅ—713 A.D.) Hen-dzuṅ (Hsüan-tsung), aged twenty-nine, mounted the throne. He was the third son of Wi-dzuṅ (Jui-tsung). The Kim-śiṅ koṅ-Jo (Chin-ch'êng kung-chu) spent thirty years in Tibet, in all about thirty-one new years (that is a little over thirty years), and died in the year Iron-Serpent (lčags-sbrul—741 A.D.). Till that year, 116 years have passed since the foundation of the T'ang empire. This seems to have been calculated from the year of Than Tha'i-dzun (T'ang T'ai-tsung) If one calculates from the year Earth-Male-Tiger (Sa-pho-stag—618 A.D.) of Thaṅ Ka'o-dzun (T'ang Kao-tsung), then 124 years must have passed. In the Wood-Female-Sheep year (Śin-mo-lug—755 A. D.), the fifteenth year since the death of Kim-śiṅ kon-Jo (Chin-ch'êng kung-chu), Khri-lde gtsug-brtan died. In the same year his son Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan was installed on the throne. It is stated in the dBa'-bžed[41] that in the time of Khri-sron lde-btsan, 1200 years had passed since the appearance of the Doctrine in China. Hen-dzuṅ (Hsuan-tsung) ruled for forty-three years till the year Wood-Female-Sheep (Śiṅ-mo-lug—755 A. D.). He died at the age of seventy-three in the year Fire-Female-Hen (me-mo-bya-757 A. D.) In the preceding Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre'u—756 A. D) Hen-dzun's third son Dzuṅ-dzun (Su-tsung) was installed on the throne. Having ruled for seven years he died at the age of fifty-two in the year Water-Male-Tiger (čhu pho-stag—762 A. D.). In the same year, Dzuṅ-dzuṅ's eldest son, Tha'i-dzuṅ (Tai-tsung) was installed on the throne. In (24b)
the next year (763 A. D.), the Tibetan troops invaded (the empire) and (the emperor) fled to Śin-ču (Shang-chou).[42]

41 —sBa-bžed, an historical work attributed to sBa gSal-snaṅ

42 H Bichurin "Istoriya Tibetai Khukhunora," I (St. Petersburg, 1833), p. 177 Sir Charles Bell. "Tibet, Past and Present" Oxford, 1924, p. 274, where a translation is given of the inscription on the southern face of the stone pillar below the Potala.

The Tibetans installed on the throne the Chinese minister Ko'u-hi (Kao-hun). Soon after that, Tai-tsung killed him. In all, Tai-tsung ruled for seventeen years, and died at the age of fifty in the year Earth-Female-Sheep (Sa-mo-lug—779 A. D.). Diṅ-dzuṅ (Tê-tsung), Tai-tsung's eldest son, was installed in the year Iron-Male-Ape (lčags-pho-spre'u—780 A. D.). In the same year king Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan died. (His) eldest son Mu-ne btsan-po was installed. He ruled for seventeen years, and died in the year Fire-Female-Ox (me-mo-glaṅ—797 A. D.). Then J̌u-tse btsan-po was installed as king (of Tibet), and ruled for eight years, and died in the year Wood-Male-Ape (Śiṅ-pho-spre'u—804 A. D.). In the same year Khri-lde sroṅ-btsan was installed. The emperor Din-dzuṅ (Tê-tsung) ruled for twenty-five years, and died at the age of sixty-four in the year Wood-Female-Hen (śin-mo-bya—805 A D.). In the same year Diṅ-dzuṅ (Tê-tsung's) eldest son Śun-dzuṅ (Shun-tsung) was installed. He ruled for one year, and died at the age of forty-six. In the year Fire-Male-Dog (me-pho-khyi—806 A.D.) Śun-dzuṅ's (Shun-tsung) eldest son Hun-dzuṅ (Hsien-tsung) was installed. He died in the year Earth-Male-Mouse (sa-pho-byi-ba—808 A.D.). In the year Earth-Female-Ox(Sa-mo-glaṅ—809A.D.—this is evidently a mistake for 821 A.D., a Iron-Female-Ox/lčags-mo-glan/year) Hun-dzuṅ (Hsien-tsung)'s son Mu-dzun (Mu-tsung) was installed. Though it is said that the Tibetan king had died about that time, he must have died in the beginning of the year Wood-Male-Horse (śiṅ-pho-rta—814 A.D.). In the same year Kha-li kha-čhu (<K'a-li k'a-tsu<Khri-gtsug lde-btsan Ral-pa-čan) was installed. On the plain of Lha-sa the Tibetan ministers assembled and the chief priest (paṇ-čhen-po) read out the text of the oath (to the king), which was sworn by all present. Mu-dzuṅ (Mu-tsung) was murdered by a minister in the year Fire-Male-Horse (me-pho-rta—826 A.D.). In the year Fire-Female-Sheep (me-mo-lug—827 A.D.) Mu-tsung's second son Wu-dzuṅ (Wên-tsung) was installed. In the year Fire-Male-Dragon (me-pho-'brug—836 A.D.) the Tibetan king

(Ral-pa-čan) died. In the same year (the king's) younger brother Tha-mu (<Ta-mo<Dar-ma) was installed on the throne. He was addicted to wine and of a wicked character. Unrest took place in the kingdom of Tibet. At Si-ha či'u an artificial hill (ri-brtsigs), demarcating the boundary in Tibetan controlled territory, tumbled down. For three days the river kLu-čhu (T'ao-shui in Amdo) flowed up stream. Evil omens appeared, and the kingdom was disintegrating. It is stated that till this Earth-Female-Sheep year (sa-mo-lug—839 A.D.) 208 years had elapsed (since the founding of the T'ang dynasty) If one calculates properly, the T'ang empire must have lasted for 222 years (till 839 A.D.). This Earth-Female-Sheep year (sa-mo-lug—839 A.D.) is the fourth year since the accession of gLaṅ Dar-ma. In the following Iron-Male-Ape year (lčags-pho-spre'u—840 A D.) till the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—841 A.D.) Dar-ma again ruled. In this Iron-Hen year (lčags-bya—841 A.D.) the (Buddhist) Doctrine ceased to exist. Immediately after that, (25a)
the king was murdered by dPal-gyi rdo-rje. Therefore scholars consider this year Iron-Hen (lčags-bya—841 A.D.) to be the first year of the period which began after the setting of the Doctrine. Thaṅ Ka'u-dzun (T'ang Kao-tsung) occupied the throne in the Earth-Male-Tiger year (sa-pho-stag—618 A.D.) which is the fiftieth year of king Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po.[13] Having added the 49 years which preceded this year, one gets 271 years which have passed since the birth of Sroṅ-btsan till the year Earth-Female-Sheep (sa-mo-lug—839 A.D.). It is stated in the Nel-pa'i čhos-'byuṅ that the Holy Doctrine had set in the year Earth-Female-Sheep (sa-mo-lug—839 A.D.). (This calculation) exceeds by about two years (the other calculation which stated that the setting of the

43 According to 'Gos lo-tsā-ba king Sron-btsan sgam-po was born in 569 A D (Earth-Female-Ox year, Sa-mo-glaṅ) 'Gos lo-tsā-ba based his calculations of dates on the prophecy contained in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, which stated that king Mānavendra had lived for eighty years See Jayaswal· "Imperial History of India," p. 20, p. 40 of Sanskrit Text.

Doctrine had taken place in 841 A.D.). The emperor Wu-dzuṅ (Wên-tsung) ruled for thirteen years, and died at the age of thirty in the year Earth-Female-Sheep (sa-mo-lug—841 A.D.). In the same year Mu-dzuṅ's (Mu-tsung) fifth son Wu-dzuṅ (Wu-tsung) was installed. He ruled for six years and died at the age of thirty-four in the year Wood-Female-Ox (śiṅ-mo-glaṅ—845 A.D.). In the year Fire-Male-Tiger (me-pho-stag—846 A.D.) Hen-dzuṅ's thirteenth son Zwan-dzuṅ (Hsuan-tsung) was installed. The T'ang empire had spread from Kin-byaṅ-hu (Chin-ch'êng-fu) as far as Tibet for about 9900 li (sa-le-bar). Later after the accession of Dzuṅ-dzuṅ (Chung-tsung) three hundred fortified towns were lost to Tibet, but were recovered by the T'ang empire at a later date. Zwan-dzuṅ (Hsuan-tsung) ruled for fourteen years, and died at the age of fifty in the year Earth-Female-Hare (sa-mo-yos—859 A.D.). His eldest son Ghi-dzuṅ (I-tsung) was installed in the year Iron-Male-Dragon (lčags-pho-'brug—860 A.D.). From then on the mutual friendship between China and Tibet came to an end. Thus it is stated that since the T'ang emperor Ka'o-dzuṅ (Kao-tsu) 239 years have passed. If properly calculated, 244 years have elapsed till the year Iron-Male-Dragon—(lčags-pho-'brug—860 A.D.). Ghi-dzuṅ (I-tsung) ruled for fourteen years and died in the year Water-Female-Serpent (čhu-mo-sbrul—873 A.D.). The fifth son of Ghi-dzuṅ (I-tsung) Hyi-dzuṅ (Hsi-tsung) was installed in the year Wood-Male-Horse (śiṅ-pho-rta—874 A.D.). He ruled for fifteen years, and died in the year Earth-Female-Ape (Sa-pho-spre'u—888 A.D.). His seventh son J̌e'u-dzuṅ (Chao-tsung) was installed in the year Earth-Female-Hen (sa-mo-bya—889 A.D.), and ruled for fifteen years and died in the year Water-Female-Hog (čhu-mo-phag—903 A.D.). In the year Wood-Male-Mouse (śiṅ-pho-byi-ba—904 A.D.) his ninth son Ṅa'i-diṅ (Ai-ti) was installed. He ruled for four years and died in the year Fire-Female-Hare (me-mo-yos—907 A.D.). Then the imperial line came to an end. Altogether (25*b*)
there have been twenty T'ang emperors and empresses.

They are stated to have ruled the empire for 288 years (i.e. till 906 A.D.). From the founding of the empire by T'ang Kao-tsu in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—618 A.D.) till the year Fire-Female-Hare (me-mo-yos—907 A.D.) four cycles of sixty years, and fifty years have elapsed. In the time of Thaṅ Tha'i-dzuṅ (T'ang T'ai-tsung) there lived a translator called Than Zam-tshan (Ch. T'ang San-tsang, Hsuan-tsang), who had translated many sacred texts. Till his time there had been two hundred Chinese translators. Thaṅ (T'ang) was his family name.[44] Zam (<Ch. san) /means/ three. Tshan (<Ch. tsang) /means/"basket" (sde-snod, piṭaka). Thus he was called "One possessing the Three Baskets" (sde-snod gsum-pa). It is said that he had been a disciple of the Indian ācārya Vasubandhu (dbYig-gñen). The last T'ang emperor was a contemporary of the period of the protecting of the Doctrine by Grum Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan in Khams. Further, after the end of the T'ang dynasty the imperial throne was transferred to the Lyaṅ (Liang). In the time of the T'ang emperor, a dissolute man (bsi'u-tsha<Ch. sui-tsa), called Hwan-mao (Huang-ch'ao), led a revolt and became king. One called Ju-hun (Chu-wên) acted as minister. Later Ju-hun (Chu-wên) recognized the T'ang, and became military commander of Čhu-mi-dben (Chung-mou in the district of K'ai-fêng fu in Ho-nan). Again later he revolted, seized the capital and founded the Lyan (Hou Liang) dynasty. Fifteen emperors belonging to five dynasties, established by different families, ruled the country for fifty years. After that, the emperor Či'u Tha'i-dzun (Chao T'ai-tsu)[45] had eight successors in a place called sPen-lyan (Pien-liang, modern K'ai-fêng). During the reign of the eighth successor Śan-hwan, father and son,[46] the Čhi-tan Ta'i-gLe'u (Ch'i-tan T'ai-

44 Gos lo-tsā-ba mistook the name of the dynasty for the family name of Hsuan-tsang.

45 Chao K'uang-'yin, emperor T'ai-tsu (960-976)

46 The author has evidently in mind the emperors Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung of the Sung dynasty.

Liao) conquered half of the empire, including sPen-lyaṅ (Pien-liang) and other cities. The dynasty was called Ta'i gLe'u (T'ai-Liao).[47] Śaṅ-hwaṅ's lame son, called Kha-dbaṅ (emperor Kao-tsung of the Southern Sung dynasty) went to the country of sMan-rtse (i.e. Man-tzŭ, S. China), and took over half of the empire. The Mongols call it Nam-tha'i (namtai). Khyen-khan (<Chien-k'ang, Nan-ching) stayed at Hwaṅ-Je'u (Hang-chou. The passage evidently refers to the transfer of the capital from Chien-k'ang to Hang-chou). This dynasty was called gSuṅ (Sung). Then till the "royal priest of sMan-rtse" (sMan-rtse lha-btsun) there were eight emperors in sMan-rtse (Man-tzŭ). After the seventh or eighth emperor of the dynasty of the Či-tan Ta'i-gLe'u (Ch'i-tan T'ai-Liao), the chief minister called Nu'i-Ji (Nu-chih, Ju-čhen→Ju-chih) seized the throne. His dynasty was called Am-tan khan (Altan-qan, the Chin dynasty). He had nine successors. In (26a)
the time of the ninth emperor Huṃ-dbaṅ (Wan-yen Hsun, 1213-1223) appeared the emperor Jiṅ-gir (Čingis). Jin-gir (Čingis) conquered the empire. In the thirteenth year of Či-dben (Chih-yuan, title of reign adopted in 1264 A.D.), in the reign of the emperor Se-čhen (Secen, Qubilai), and in the third year of the reign of the emperor gYe'u-Ju[48] (emperor Tu-tsung, 1265-1274) of sMan-rtse (Man-tzŭ), under the command of Ba-yan čhin-san (Bayan čingsang, 1237-95) the empire was conquered. The emperor (Kung-ti) was sent to Sa-skya (in Tibet), where he became a priest. Later in the time of the emperor Ge-gen (Gegēn), he was killed, and his "blood turned into milk" (khrag'o-mar byun—an expression meaning that he was killed being innocent). The history of the Mongol empire, called Ta'i-dben (T'ai-Yuan), as told by Dzambha-la (Jambhala) Ti-śrī (Ti-shih) mGon, was written down by Kun-dga' rdo-rje (in his Deb-ther dmar-po). Thirty-six emperors of the Či'u (Chou) dynasty. Tshin-hri-

47 This passage refers to the conquest of K'ai-fêng by the Chin in 1126 A D
48 gYe'u-Ju <Yu-ju, of the emperor's father—Chao Yu-ju

hwaṅ (Chin Shih Huang-ti), two emperors. Twelve emperors of the Han. Two Aṅ-maṅ (Wang-mang). Twenty-six Hans. Five Tsh'o-tsha (the Wei dynasty, 220 A.D.-265 A.D.). One 'U-ma (Ssŭ-ma Chao). One He'u-tsiṅ (Hou-Ch'in). One bSi-tsin (Hsi-Chin). Twelve emperors of gYan-di-yi (Yang Ti) of Su'i (Sui), descendants of Chiṅ-saṅ (čingsang). In the time of Han Min-ti (Ming-Ti), the second emperor of the twenty-six emperors of the Han, the Doctrine appeared (in China). The imperial line (rgyal-rabs) of the Mongols (Hor)[49]. First sBor-ta-čhe (Borte čino-a), the Son of Heaven (gNam-gyi bu). His son Ba-da čhi-gan (Bata čiqan). The latter's son Tham-čhag (Tamača; Sayang Secen. Tamaca). His son Chi-ji mer-gan (Qoričar mergan), who is said to have been the demon-subduing Padmasambhava (Padma 'byun-gnas). His son La'u-Jan bhe-re-'ol (A'uJang-boro'ul). His son Pas-ka ni-dun (probably a mistake of the cutter for Yas-ka ni-dun, Yeke nidun). His son Sems-dza'o-ji (Semsoči) His son Kha-Ju (Qarču). His son Du-ban mer-gan (Dobun mergan) Bo-don-čhar mu-gan (Bodončar mungqa in the Yuan-cha'o pi-shih, ed. Haenisch, p.2, Sayang Secen. Bodančar mungqan), born to Nag-mo (the Tibetan nag-mo usually translates the Mongol γoa) A-lan-kho (Alan γoa) from the rays of the Sun and Moon, after (Dobun mergan's) death. His son Ga'i-čhi (Qabiči). His son sBi-khir (Biker). His son Ma-nan Tho-don (Menen tudun). His son Ga'i-thu gan (Qaidu qan). His son Ba'i-śin. His son Khor-thog-śiṅ (here 'Gos lo-tsā-ba has split the name of Baišingqor-doγšin into two). Dum-bi-ha'i khan (Tunbinai qan, Sayang Secen Tumbaγai secen). His son Ka-bu-la gan (Qabul qan). His son Bar-than ba-dur (Bartan ba'ātur).

49 E Haenisch "Monghol un niuca tobca an" (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi). Leipzig, 1937, p 1, Sa γang Secen, ed I J Schmidt, p 56-ff, Archimandrite Palladius· "Starinnoye Mongol'skoye Skazaniye o Cingis-khane," Trudi Rossiyskoy Dukhovnoy Missii, Peking, 1910, Vol IV, p 1 ff Prof S A Kozin has published in 1941 the first volume of his exhaustive study on the Mongol Text of the Yuan-ch'ao pi-shih (Sokrovennoye Skazaniye, Vol I, (Leningrad, 1941)

His son Ye-phur-ga ba-dur (Yesugei ba'ātur). His and queen Hu-lun (Ho'elun)'s son the emperor Jiṅ-gin (Čingis) was born in the year Water-Male-Tiger (čhu-pho-stag—1182 A.D.)[50]. He had five brothers.[51] At the age of thirty-eight he conquered the empire, and ruled for twenty-three years. He is also called Tha'i-dzun (T'ai-tsu). He died in the country of the Mi-ñag-gha (Mi-ñag, Hsi-hsia) at the age of sixty-one on the twelfth day of the first autumn month of the year Water-Male-Tiger (čhu-pho-stag—1242 A.D.).[52] (26b)

After him O-go-ta (Ögedei) /ruled/ for six years.[53] His son emperor Go-lug (probably a mistake of the cutter for Go-yug∠Guyuk) /ruled/ for six months.[54] Moṅ-gol gan (Mongke qan) for nine years (1251—1259 A.D.) Se-čhen gan (Sečen qan, Qubilai) from the year Iron-Ape (lčags-spre—1260 A.D.) till the year Wood-Horse (śiṅ-rta—1294 A.D.), in all thirty-five years. He died at the age of eighty. Ol-Ja-du (ÖlJeitu, Temur, d. 1307 A. D.). During his time the sNar-than bsTan-'gyur was collected (by bČom-ldan Rigs-ral). The emperor Go-lug (Kulug, d. 1311 A.D.). A-yu-par-pa-ta Bu-yan-du (Ayurparibhadra Buyantu) for nine years (d. 1320 A.D.). Siddhi-pa-la (Siddhipāla) gYin-dzun (Ying-tsung) for three years (d 1323

50 According to Tibetan chronicles the year of Čingis' birth was 1162 A D, a Water-Male-Horse year (čhu-pho-rta) The Water-Male-Tiger year (čhu-pho-stag—1182 A D) of the "Blue Annals" possibly represents a lapsus calami on the part of the author In 1938 Prof Pelliot has shown that according to Chinese sources of 1340 A D Čingis qan had been born in 1167 A D, and died in 1227 A D, at the age of sixty (R Grousset "L'Empire des Steppes" Paris, 1939, p 639)

51 Qasar, Qači'un, Temuge, and two half-brothers—Begter and Belgutei

52 August 18, 1227 A D according to the Yuan-shih, ch 107 The date given in the "Blue Annals" must be due to a misunderstanding, or the miscalculation of the year of the birth Most of the Tibetan chronicles place Čingis' death in 1226/7 A D (see Sum-pa mKhan-po's Re'u-mig) Subtracting 61, we obtain 1166 for the year of Čingis' birth

53 Ögedei ruled from 1229 to 1241 A D The six years mentioned in our text must correspond to the period of regency of Turegene (1242-46 A D)

54 Instead of two years, August, 1246—April, 1248 A D

A.D.). Ye-sun The-mur (Yesun Temür) čiṅ-dban (ching-wang) for five years (d. 1328 A.D.). Ra-khyi-phag (Raja-pika) for forty days (d. 1328 A.D.) Ku-śa-la (Kuśala) Go-thug (qutuγtu) rgyal-po(qan) for one month (d. 1329 A.D.). Thog Thi-mur 'Ja'-ya-du (Toγ Temur Jayaγātu) for five years (Toγ-Temur seized the imperial throne in 1328 A.D., but was deposed by Kuśala. After the death of the latter in 1329 A.D., Toγ Temur again occupied the throne and died in October, 1332 A.D.). Rin-čhen-dpal for one month (proclaimed emperor on October 23, 1332 A D., died on December 14, 1332). For six months the throne remained empty, and the government was carried on by El Tha-mur (El Temur) Tha-śrī (T'ai-shih). In the year Water-Female-Hen (čhu-mo-bya—1333 A.D.) Tho-gan Thi-mur (Toγon Temur) was installed on the throne. In the year Earth-Male-Ape (sa-pho-spre'u—1368 A.D.), in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, he fled to Mongolia (Hor-yul). From this Earth-Male-Ape year (sa-pho-spre'u—1368 A.D.) the Ta'i-Min (T'ai Ming) dynasty began its rule. From that Earth-Male-Ape year (1368 A.D.) till the present Fire-Ape (Me-spre—1476 A.D.) 108 years have elapsed. The emperor Ta'i Min (Hung Wu) for thirty-three years (d. 1398 A.D). Kyi-hun (Chien-wên) for two years. Ye-dban (Yung Lo) for twenty-two years (1425 A.D.). bŽin-dzun (Jên-tsung) for four years (1424-25 A.D.). Zon-de (Hsuan Tê) for eight years (1426-1435 A.D.). Čiṅ-thuṅ (Chêng T'ung) for thirteen years (1435-49 A.D.). Gyin-tha'i (Ching T'ai) for seven years (1449-1457). Then-śun (T'ien-shun) ascended the throne in the year Fire-Female-Ox (me-mo-glaṅ—1457 A.D.) and ruled till the year Water-Ape (čhu-spre, evidently a mistake for śin-spre, Wood-Ape, 1464 A.D.) for eight years. The emperor Čhin-hwa (Chêng Hua) began to rule in the year Water-Hen (čhu-bya, a mistake for Wood-Hen, śin-bya, 1465 A.D.), for eleven years till the year Wood-Sheep (sin-lug—1475 A.D.). At the beginning of the Fire-Ape year (Me-spre—1476 A.D.),

108 years of the line of the Ta'i-Miṅ emperor (Hung Wu) have passed. This should be taken as basis in calculations. The Mongol emperors from Byin-giṅ (Čingis) to Tho-gan Thi-mur (Toγon Temur), and the Chinese emperors from Ta'i-Miṅ (Hung Wu) to the present emperor, in general venerated the Three Jewels (Triratna, dKon-mčhog gsum). Especially Se-čhen gan (Sečen qan) and Ye-dbaṅ (Yung Lo) honoured priests from India and Tibet, and it is impossible to calculate the amount of money spent on them. By admiring the virtuous deeds of these emperors, one acquires merit equal to theirs.

The Chapter on the Royal Chronology of Tibet, China and Mongolia (Hor). (27b)

[After the destruction of the Doctrine by gLan Dar-ma, the three Jewels were again venerated by 'Od-sruns and dPal 'Khor-btsan, who built temples, etc. After the setting of the Doctrine, Tibetan laymen also venerated the Three Jewels. In this manner the temples of Lha-sa, bSam-yas and other monasteries escaped destruction. Some lay Tantrics, who led the life of householders and dwelt in mountain valleys, also practised religion privately, had faith in the general Doctrine, and hid the śāstras and sūtras, which had been translated before the time of king Ral-pa-čan Thanks to this, we are able to benefit by the greater part of the ancient translations. In later times, when priests from Khams came to Tibet, they were greatly heartened. Much wealth had been spent in building (Buddhist) vihāras. They looked well after the needs of monastic communities, and the number of monks became countless. The date of the arrival of the monks from Khams in Tibet Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe[55] basing himself on the words of an old woman, has stated that the Doctrine had disappeared in the Iron-Female-Hen year (lčags-mo-bya—901 A.D.), and was reestablished after the lapse of seventy-

55 History of Buddhism by Bu-ston, transl. by E Obermiller, II (1932), p. 211.

three years, in the year Water-Female-Hen (čhu-mo-bya—973 A.D.). But 'Brom ston-pa, who was very learned in the history of the Doctrine, said "in the seventy-eighth year, which was an Earth-Male-Tiger year (sa-pho-stag), (the Doctrine) reappeared." Atīśa came to Tibet in the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1042 A.D.), which was the 65th year after the Earth-Male-Tiger year (sa-pho-stag—978 A.D.).[56] At that time Sum-pa Ye-śes blo-gros, one of the "Six men of dbUs and gTsaṅ", was still living, for in the letter, which had been sent by 'Brom-ston to the great scholars of dbUs, conveying an invitation to come to welcome Atīśa, stood the following sentence "The leader, who had first established the monastic vow, the great bhadanta Ye-śes blo-gros......" With reference to the above, the Nel-pa paṇḍita Grags-pa sMon-lam tshul-khrims stated "From the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—841 A D. or 901 A.D.) for 108 years there had been no Doctrine. During the 109th year, which was an Earth-Female-Hen year (sa-mo-bya—949 A D. or 1009 A D.), the Doctrine reappeared" After examining this, it seems to me that he had mistaken the date of the building of the temple for that of the reestablishment of the Doctrine, since in the letter of Ba-śi'i gNas-brtan, who had been a direct disciple of kLu-mes, and which alludes to the greatness of kLu-mes, he had stated "my great Teacher kLu-mes Śes-rab tshul-khrims and Sum-pa Ye-śes blo-gros had first attemted to erect a temple in the valley of kLun-śod 'byin-pa, but failed. Then in the year of the Hen (bya-lo), sGyel was built at La-mo." Then kLu-mes and Sum-pa having built temples, the number of monastic communities increased the "Four Pillars" (Ka-ba-bži), the "Eight Beams" (gdun-brgyad), the "Thirty-two Rafts" (lčam sum-bču-rtsa-gñis), and numerous "Planks" (dral-ma).[57] Rag-śi Tshul-khrims came to Khams

56 From now on, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba calculates all dates from the year 901 A D (lčags-mo-bya) This question has been discussed by us in the Introduction.

57 Names given to groups of monks

and the number of monks increased. sBa and Rag-śi Tshul-khrims have been ordained by different upādhyāyas. sBa-btsun bLo-gros 'byun-gnas took over Bu-tshal gser-khaṅ. His disciple sPyan-'og bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan and others built numerous temples, including those of lČes, etc. 'Brin Ye-śes yon-tan established with the assistance of Lha-lun a monastic community at Khams-gsum Zaṅs-khan, 'Phyogs-kyi Dog-pa, Gad-pas lha-khaṅ, and his disciples built many monasteries at dbU-ru sKar-čhuṅ, gÑal-gyi čhos-sgo, Bre-gu and other localities. Further the "Six men of dbUs and gTsaṅ" (dbUs-gTsaṅ mi-drug) having come (to Tibet), found themselves unable to ordain monks, because of the absence of monastic communities (groups of twenty monks were required to perform the ordination ceremony). After the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—978 A.D.), as given by 'Brom-ston, though yet unable to erect temples, groups of monks began to arrive. It seems that kLu-mes and others came (to Tibet) in this manner. (28*a*)

BOOK II

LATER SPREAD OF THE DOCTRINE

THE STORY OF THE BEGINNING OF THE PERIOD OF THE LATER SPREAD OF THE DOCTRINE

At the time of the persecution of the Doctrine by Dar-ma 'U-dum btsan, three monks of the meditative monastery (sgom-grwa) of dPal Chu-bo-ri—dMar-ban (i.e. the monk belonging to the dMar lineage) Śākyamuni of gYor-stod, gYo dGe-'byuṅ of Dran-čhun-mdo, and gTsaṅs Rab-gsal of rGya-rab-pa,[1] having taken with themselves necessary books on the Vinaya ('Dul-ba) and the Abhidharma (mṄon-pa), such as the Karmaśataka (Kg. mDo, No. 340) and other texts, at first fled towards Western Tibet (sTod-phyogs). Hiding by day, and travelling by night, they reached mṄa'-ris. Unable to remain there, they continued their flight towards the country of Hor (Hor-gyi yul, the Uighur kingdom) by the northern route. There they stayed with a certain Hor upāsaka called Śākya śes-rab (Śākyajñāna), who helped them. Then they proceeded to Sro-gu-lun in Amdo (mDo-smad). There was a minister called 'Bro-stag-snaṅ-khri-gsum-rje, who was acting as Prime Minister (bka'-blon) of a religious king. At the age of thirty-five, in the year Iron-Hog (lčags-phag—891 A.D.), he expressed a solemn wish (smon-lam), and having passed away, was reborn in the year Water-Male-Mouse (čhu-pho-byi—892 A.D.) in Tsoṅ-kha bDe-Khams.[2] Having grown up, he received some mantras from Non 'Jam-dpal at the hermitage of Ziṅ-dpon. In the presence of Baṅ Rin-čhen

1 Bu-ston's History of Buddhism, transl by E Obermiller, II, p 201 ff. The three men are called Bod-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum or "The Three Learned Men of Tibet" They are buried in a temple at Hsi-ning In dPa'-ri, north of Hsi-ning, there exists a stone-pillar with the names of the three men mentioned on it (verbal communication of Rev dGe-'dun Čhos-'phel).

2 The name of the village is Jya-žur, north of Hsuan-hua, on the northern bank of the rMa-čhu (Huang-ho)

rdo-rje, who had a vision of Ārya Avalokiteśvara, a creative thought towards enlightenment was born in him. He then studied the treatises of the Mādhyamika and Nyāya systems with sKyirGyal-ba'i gtsug-tor, and the Yoga (Tantra) with Nam dGa'-ldan byaṅ-čhub. Then a thought came to his mind: "In order to spread the Doctrine throughout the Ten Quarters, which will alleviate the sufferings of living beings with heavenly nectar, I must first renounce the World." He then took up ordination, gTsaṅs Rab-gsal acting as upādhyāya, and gYo and dMar acting as preceptors (ācārya). He was given the name of dGe-ba gsal. He then proceeded northwards, and reached the fortress of Čaṅ-in rtse (Chang-yi-chiung, Kan-chou) in the country of the Mi-ñag (Mi-ñag-gha'i yul, i.e. the Tangut Hsi-hsia kingdom). There he studied the Vinaya with Seṅ-ge-grags of Go-roṅ, who bestowed on him the Vinaya, the four sections of the Āgamas (lun-sde bži) together with the commentaries. "Son," said he, "explain properly the Doctrine of the Tathāgata! I am old, and shall not live long." dGe-ba gsal wished then to proceed to the residence of Žaṅ-čhen-po dGe-ba in dbUs.[3] On reaching gLon-thaṅ 'Jig-rten-sgron in Lower Khams (mDo-Khams), he met at Maṅ-ra gyu-mtsho a messenger sent by the king of dbUs, who said: "A great famine has happened in dbUs. Venerable Sir, you cannot go there. Kwa-'oṅ-mčhog-grags-pa, who had studied extensively in Nepāl and India, has gone to Khams." On hearing this, dGe-ba gsal went back. Then in the East, at Lha-rtse bhig-tig, in a monastic establishment containing numerous ancient images, he met Kwa-'oṅ-mčhog-grags-pa, and studied with him for twelve years the Mahāyāna Abhidharma, the commentary on the Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā (Śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa 'bum-pa rgya-čher 'grel-pa, Tg. Śes-phyin, No. 3807) and the Bodhisattva-bhūmi (rNal-'byor spyod-pa'i sa-las

3 It seems strange that dGe-ba gsal should attempt to go to dbUs after the persecution of the Doctrine

byan-čhub-sems-dpa'i sa, Tg. Sems-tsam. No. 4037) etc. One night in a dream, he saw himself riding on an elephant, and holding in his hand a precious jewel. While he was thus riding through the market-place, the crowd shouted (at him) "Venerable Sir, you have a wonderful jewel! But at the present time no buyer can be found, and the price is too high." On awakening, he thought "Having opened the casket of the Precious Doctrine, I offered a jewel of excellent quality, and it is not desired by even the lowest beings! It would be better if I were to stay in a forest for a while." While he was thinking thus, several powerful asuras, known as the "Nine Brothers-dwarfs" (thi'u-ran spun-dgu), residing in the neighbourhood of Mount Dan-tig (Ri Dan-tig, situated on the bank of the rMa-čhu or Huang-ho, South-east of sKu-'bum and North of Hsun-hua), perceived bLa-čhen-po and were filled with faith. They said to him: "In this place of ours there are great hermitages, where many had attained (spiritual) realization. Pray come there, where fruit and roots are easily found! We shall befriend you, and become your lay-supporters." Having given them his assent, dGe-ba gsal proceeded towards Mount Dan-tig, and on reaching there, made extensive offerings to the Three Jewels and extensive sacrificial offerings (gtor-ma), (2a)
etc. to the Religious Protector (čhos-skyon, dharmapāla). He prayed to the Religious Protector, saying "Jinas and Heroes (dpa', śūra), who have made a solemn wish in the presence of the Protector of the Doctrine, Protectors of the World ('Jig-rten skyon-ba, lokapāla), you who are possessed of miraculous powers, devoted to the work of protecting (the Doctrine), help me!" There existed certain yogins who upheld the wrong theory about the state of merit characterized by an absence of deeds, called the "Sudden entry into spiritual realization". In order to combat these wrong views, the "Great Soul" (bdag-ñid čhen-po, mahātman) built temples and stūpas. Paint (tshon-rtsi) was also found in the region. He himself did the building, and strove towards the founda-

tion of the "created" merit (opposite to merit acquired without deeds). Because of such meritorious practice performed by him, faith was born in sBa-goṅ Ye-śes gyun-druṅ who having collected a retinue, proceed towards Dan-tig. bLa-čhen-po preached to him the fundamental rules of the vows (bslab-pa'i gži-rnams), as expounded in the Vinaya of the Holy Doctrine. Full of repentence for his own conduct, the latter took up proper ordination. After him Par gNas-brtan grags-pa took up ordination, and both became known as "sBa and Par, the Two". In the same manner (were ordained) Ja-pa grags-pa and the mahā-bhadanta (btsun-čhen) Śes-rab 'byuṅ-gnas, who became known as "Ja and Cog, the Two". In the same manner (were ordained) bŽan dPal-gyi rdo-rJe and Srags rgya-mstho, who became known as "bŽaṅ and Srags, the Two." 'Al-pa rDo-rJe dban-phyug and bsNubs-lab-śi dPal-gyi dban-phyug-/became known as/"Al and bsNubs, the Two." Zon mČhog čhos-skyon and 'Tshur Śes-rab-mčhog (became known as) "Zoṅ and 'Tshur, the Two." The disciples of 'Tshur-kLu-mes Śes-rab tshul-khrims and others were natives of dbUs and gTsan. Thus, in this fiendless and peaceful forest the crowd of disciples, possessed of abstinence and diligence, accompanied him, and dwelt together, striving towards the Domain of Merit (dGe-ba'i phyogs). On another occasion, there assembled one night Indra, the presiding deity of the World of Desires ('dod-pa'i (2b) khams, kāma-dhātu), and other deities, accompanied by a numerous retinue. Having presented offerings, they sat down in order to hear the Doctrine, and bLa-čhen-po gladdened their hearts by a discourse on the Doctrine. They said. "Venerable Sir, you are good, but this retinue of asuras is evil!" and having said so, they left the place. Then his retinue made the following request: "Last night there happened such a vision. bLa-čhen-po, are you not a manifestation, (of Buddha)?" bLa-čhen-po replied "I am not a manifestation, but the monk dGe-ba gsal, striving towards the attainment of the light of the degree of practice (sbyor-ba'i lam,

prayoga-mārga) of the Mahāyāna." Again on another occasion he said: "At first, I was born as a woman selling garlic. Then I was sTag-sna khri-sum-rJe, and, now I am Mu-zu dGe-ba gsal." Thus bLa-čhen-po in his forty-ninth year proceeded to Dan-tig, and resided there for thirty-five years. At the age of eighty four, in the year Wood-Female-Hog (śiṅ-mo phag—975 A.D.) he proceeded to the Tuṣita heaven. This Wood Hog year (śiṅ-phag—975 A D.) is the seventy-fifth year since the year Iron-Hen (lčags-bya—901 A.D.) of the suppression of the Doctrine.[4] Thus bLa-čhen-po said: "Ārya Asaṅga ('Phags-pa Thogs-med) and Damṣṭrā-sena (btsun-pa mČhe-ba'i sde) have given different interpretations of the "Mother of the Jinas" (rGyal-ba'i yum, i e. the Prajñāpāramitā). I must inquire from the yuvarāja (rgyal-tshab) Maitreyanātha (Byams-mgon). I have also heard that these two Teachers were now residing in the Tusita heaven." Again he said "Had Ārya Mañjuśrī come here, in this World he would be expelled! I shall have to reincarnate eight times in this Jambudvīpa, until the coming of the Lord Maitreya!" The above account has been given (by me) according to the writings of dbOn Bi-či. According to other accounts the "Six Men from dbUs and gTsan" (dbUs-gTsan-gi mi-drug) had met bLa-čhen-po himself. There also exist various (other) accounts, such as that about their meeting with bLa-čhen-po and their ordination by Grum Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan. (3a)
From the year of the birth of the Religious king (dharmarāja) Sron-btsan sgam-po in the year Earth-Female-Ox (sa-mo-glaṅ—629 A.D.) to the year Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre'u—1476 A.D.), of the composition of this book, eight hundred and forty-eight years have elapsed.

4 The Re'u-mig (JASB, II, 1889, p 40) says that bLa-čhen dGons-pa rab-gsal died in 1035 A D., also a Wood-Hog year (śiṅ-phag) We do not know the source of Sum-pa mkhan-po's information Possibly it is based on a simple miscalculation.

TEE CHAPTER ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE "LATER" SPREAD OF THE DOCTRINE (BSTAN-PA PHYI-DAR), BLA-ČHEN-PO AND OTHERS.

In the three hundred and twenty-ninth year from the birth of Sroṅ-btsan (here again the author calculates from the year 629 A.D.), in the year Earth-Male-Horse (sa-pho-rta—958 A.D.) the lo-tsā-ba Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po was born. At the age of thirteen, he was ordained by the upādhyāya Ye-śes bzaṅ-po, as stated in his Life (rnam-thar) composed by Khri-thaṅ Jñāna. Thus the year of the lo-tsā-ba's ordination is the seventieth year from the year Iron-Hen (lčags-bya—901 A.D.) of the suppression of the Doctrine.[5] From the above it seems clear that the Doctrine had first reappeared in mÑa'-ris, and later in Central Tibet (dbUs and gTsaṅ). When the lo-tsā-ba Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po was eighty-five, Atīśa (Jo-bo rJe) came to Tibet and met him. When the great translator was a young man, he journeyed to Kaśmīra, and there studied numerous treatises (śāstras) on the Mantrayāna (sÑags), and (works) belonging to the Sūtra class. A prominent scholar, he translated many texts and sūtras as well as mantras, composed extensive explanations on the Prajñāpāramitā and the Tantras, and taught the rite of initiation (dbaṅ, abhiṣeka) and (the performance) of propitiations (sgrub-pa, sādhana). The "later" spread of the Tantras in Tibet was greater than the "early" spread (of the Tantras), and this was chiefly due to this translator (lo-tsā-ba). He attended on seventy-five paṇḍitas, and heard from them the exposition of numerous treatises on the Doctrine. bLa-čhen-po Lha-lde-btsan bestowed on him the dignity of "Chief Priest" (dbu'i mčhod-gnas) and of Vajrācārya (rdo-rje slob-dpon). He was presented with the estate of Żer in sPu-hraṅs, and built temples He erected many temples and shrines at Khra-tsa, Roṅ and other localities, as well as numerous stūpas. He had many learned disciples, such as Gur-śiṅ brTson-'grus rgyal-mtshan and others, as well

5 Here again the author calculates from the year 901 A.D, instead from 841 A.D., both years being Iron-Hen years (lčags-bya).

as more than ten translators who were able to correct translations (žus-čhen pher-ba'i lo-tsā-ba). Others could not compete with him in his daily work, such as the erection of images and translation of (sacred texts), etc. He paid for the recital of the (Mañjuśrī) nāma-saṅgīti (Kg. rGyud, No. 360) a (3b) hundred thousand times in the Sanskrit language, and a hundred thousand times in Tibetan, and made others recite it a hundred thousand times. At last he was initiated by Atīśa into the method of propitiations (sgrub-pa, sādhana). On the three successive gates outside of his meditative cell (sgrub-khaṅ), he wrote the following inscription (sgo-yig): "Should thoughts of property, selfishness, etc. be born in me even for one moment, then may the Religious Protectors split my head." Concentrating intensely, he attained the highest realization (mčhog-gi grub-pa). When he passed into Nirvāṇa in his ninety-eighth year at Khwa-tse win-gir in the year Wood-Female-Sheep (śiṅ-mo-lug—1055 A.D.), heavenly denizens played music and flower showers fell, which were seen by the children of the villagers, and by all living creatures. No relics were left behind (after the cremation), and it has been stated that he had passed to Heaven, without leaving his body behind. Only three relics (riṅ-bsrel, śārira), very red, of the colour of the 'Ol-ma-se fruit, were left behind. Soon after, these relics disappeared to Heaven, accompanied by a great sound, resembling thunder.

THE CHAPTER ON THE GREAT TRANSLATOR

Further, Lha bla-ma Ye-śes-'od invited the East Indian (4a) paṇḍita Dharmapāla, who had many disciples, such as the three Pālas—Sādhupāla, who was the chief among the disciples who expounded and practised the Vinaya, Guṇapāla, Prajñāpāla and others. Their lineage (brgyud-pa) is called the "Upper Vinaya" (sTod-'Dul-ba). Further, in the time of Lha-sde—Subhūti Śrīśānti, known as the Great Paṇḍita of Kaśmīra, (Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen), was invited. He translated many sūtras and śāstras belonging to the Prajñāpāramitā

Class, including the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā ('Phags-pa śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa brgyad-stoṅ-pa, Kg. Śes-phyin, No.12), its commentary ('grel-čhen, the Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka, Tg.Śes-phyin, No.3791), the Abhisamayālaṃkāraṭīkā (mṄon-par rtogs-pa'i rgyan 'grel-pa, Tg. Śes-phyin, No.3794) and other works. Numerous learned translators, disciples of the Great Translator (lo-čhen), translated numerous texts from the Vinaya-piṭaka ('dul-ba'i sde-snod), the Prajñāpāramitā, and many Tantric works. In particular dGe-ba'i blo-gros of rMa translated numerous texts, including the Pramāṇavārtika (Tshad-ma rnam-'grel, Tg.Tshad.ma, No. 4210), its auto-commentary (Pramāṇavārtikavṛtti, Tg. Tshad-ma, No.4216), Devendramati's (Lha-dban-blo) commentary (Pramāṇavārtikaṭīkā, Tg. Tshad-ma, No. 4217) and the commentary by Śākyamati (Śākya-blo, Pramāṇavārtikaṭīkā, Tg. Tshad-ma, No. 4220), and made it into a system through teaching and study. Thus was the beginning of the spread of the teaching of Logic, which became thus established in the region of dbUs and gTsaṅ. During that time, Khyuṅ-po grags-se, famous for his learning, composed numerous treatises on Logic. They are called the "Old Nyāya" (Tshad-ma rñiṅ-ma). Later the translator bLo-ldan śes-rab founded the lineage known as the "New Nyāya" (Tshad-ma gsar-ma). The great paṇḍita Jñānaśrī came to Tibet, without having been invited. Numerous (other) paṇḍitas also came, and made numerous excellent translations (of texts). In the time of king 'Od-lde, Atīśa (Jo-bo-rJe) was invited, and reformed the Doctrine. In the time of the king's son rTse-lde in the year Fire-Male-Dragon (me-pho-'brug—1076 A.D.) most of the great Tripiṭakadharas (sDe-snod-'dzin-pa) of dbUs, gTsaṅ and Khams assembled to a Religious Council (čhos-'khor), which became known as the "Council of the Fire-Dragon Year" (me-pho-'brug-gi čhor-'khor). Each of them set in motion the Wheel of the Doctrine. About that time the Zaṅs-dkar lo-tsā-ba translated the Nyāyālaṃkāra (Tshad-ma rgyan, Tg. Tshad-ma, No. 4221). In general it must be said that the services

rendered to the Doctrine by these kings of Upper mÑa'-ris find no parallel in other countries. Rwa lo-tsā-ba, gÑan lo-tsā-ba, Khyun-po Čhos-brtson, bTsan Kha-bo-čhe, rÑog bLo-ldan śes-rab and Mar-thuṅ Dad-pa śes-rab attended the Council Among the lo-tsā-bas Dags-po dBan-rgyal was also present. bTsan Kha-bo-čhe having studied the "Doctrine of Maitreya" (Byams-čhos) with Sajjana, returned (to Tibet), and great was the benefit. Rwa and gÑan on leaving the Council, proceeded to Nepāl and India. Then having returned to Tibet, they laboured extensively. Dags-po dBan-rgyal and Khyuṅ-po grags-se held a contest of preaching, having established their residences on the Po-ta ri and dMar-po-ri. Monks used to visit the religious schools of both (teachers). (4b) Though there exist an account that Khyun-po had studied the "Old Nyāya", and had left behind numerous disciples, it is not sure whether the "Old Nyāya", which had been studied by him, had not originated from Khams or mÑa'-ris, from a translation of Devendramati's commentary by rMa lo-tsā-ba. Khyuṅ-po seems to have been a contemporary of Po-to-ba.

In general, in the year Iron-Female-Ox (lčags-mo-glan 821 A.D. or 881 A.D.), 252 years having passed since the birth of Sron-btsan sgam-po, king Ral-pa-čan concluded the treaty with China. In the next Water-Male-Tiger year (čhu-pho-stag—822 A.D. or 882 A.D.), the Pillar of Lha-sa (Lha-sa'i rdo-riṅs) was erected. In the fifteenth year after this Water-Tiger year (čhu-stag), in the Fire-Male-Dragon year (me-pho-'brug—836 A.D. or 896 A.D.) king Ral-pa-čan died. From that year to the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—841 A.D or 901 A.D.) Dar-ma ruled. The Doctrine of Ordination (rab-tu byun-ba'i bstan-pa) disappeared. This Fire-Male-Ox year (me-pho-glaṅ—917 A.D. or 977 A.D.) is the 77th year since the year Iron-Hen (lčag-sbya—901 A.D.), when the Doctrine disappeared. Sixty-four years have passed between the next Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—918 A.D. or 978 A.D.) and the Iron-Serpent year (lčags-sbrul—1041 A.D.), which precedes Atīśa's coming to Tibet in the year Water-

Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1042 A.D.). // During these years the "Six Men from dbUs and gTsaṅ" (dbUs-gTsaṅ mi-drug) propagated widely the Doctrine of Ordination. When Atīśa came to Tibet, the disciples of the "Six"-Khu, rÑog and many others were still alive. Thus from the birth of Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po (to the year 1042 A.D.) 413 years have passed (if calculated from the year 629 A.D.). / The year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1042 A.D.) of the coming of Atīśa to Tibet, is the 141st year since the disappearance of the Doctrine (in the Iron-Hen year, which according to the author is the 901 A.D.). At that time Lord Mar-pa (rJe Mar-pa) was in his thirty-first year, and 'Khon dKon-mčhog rgyal-po in his ninth year. gŽus and Gra-pa mÑon-śes acted as abbots at that time (so that at least ten years must have passed after their ordination, as is the rule in the Vinaya).[6] The Vinaya-dhara of rGya (rGya 'Dul-ba 'dzin-pa) began the study of the Vinaya. Gra-pa's disciple bTsan Kha-bo-čhe was in his twenty-third year. This was the time of the great disciples of gŽus: the translators Leṅ, 'Brog and 'Gos, sTag-lo gŽon-tshul, 'Bro-seṅ-dkar Śākya-'od, Khu-dṅos-grub and Gyi-Jo Zla-ba'i 'od-zer. 'Brom died twenty-three years after the coming of Atīśa to Tibet (in 1064 A.D.). bLa-čhen-po 'Brog-mi also passed away about that time. After the death of 'Brog-mi, rGya-gar Phyag-na came to Tibet. He preached extensively the precepts of the Grub-sñiṅ (Saraha's Dohākoṣa) to twenty-one great scholars and others in Upper gTsaṅ. / Soon after the death of Atīśa, Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas came to Tibet, and taught the old tradition of the Źi-byed Doctrine to Gra-pa and lČe-dwal sGar-pa. The Kashmirian Somanātha (Zla-mgon) also came to Tibet. These two preached and taught the Doctrine of the Kālacakra. / Dam-pa again returned to India. Having proceeded to Śa-'ug sTag-sgo, he spent three years at sNaṅ-gro of gÑal. After that he preached the doctrine of the "Middle" Lineage (brgyud- (5a)

6 The last named was the author of the Ma-ṇi bka'-'bum.

pa bar-pa)[7] to rMa, So, sKam and others. It seems that about twenty-six years must have elapsed since the death of Atīśa (1054+26=c. 1080 A.D.). After that (Dam-pa) proceeded to China, and spent twelve years there. Later he came to Diṅ-ri, and for twenty-one years laboured for the benefit of living creatures. During the fortieth year after the death of Atīśa, the lo-tsā-ba bLo-ldan śes-rab taught the Piṭaka to more than 23,000 students possessing text-books.[8] During that period the "Three Cousins" (sku-mčhed gsum-Po-to-ba Rin-čhen-gsal, sPyan-sna-ba Tshul-khrims-'bar and Phu-čhun-ba gŽon-nu rgyal-mtshan) of the bKa'-gdams-pas, sNe'u-zur-ba and others, Śar-ba-pa, gLan-than-pa, Bya-yul-pa and others, greatly fostered the bKa'-gdams-pa doctrine. In the time of bLo-ldan (bLo-sdan bstan-skyon), the Venerable Mid-la and Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas propagated the practice of the Meditative Lineage (sgrub-brgyud) rÑog, father and son, 'Tshur-dbaṅ ne, Mes-tshon-po[9] dPyal-se-tsa, 'Khon dKon-mčhog rgyal-po, father and son, Ba-ri lo-tsa-ba, rGyus-sMon-lam-grags, Zaṅs-dkar lo-tsā-ba and brothers, Rwa-lo, gÑan-lo, 'Gos, teacher and disciple, Mar-pa Do-ba and others taught extensively the Tantras. Ba-ri and the Venerable Mid-la were born in the same year (1040 A.D.). When Ba-ri (Rin-čhen grags) was fifteen, he met Atīśa (in 1054 A.D.). Zur-čhuṅ-pa's son Śākya seṅ-ge of Gro-phug and his disciple extensively preached the Tantras, belonging to the "Old" class (rñiṅ-ma). This was the only time when the Precious Doctrine of the Buddha received its greatest spread. dPal sGam-po-pa was born in the year Earth-Female-Sheep (sa-mo-lug-1079 A.D.), twenty-six years after the death of Atīśa. At first he heard the precepts of the bKa'-gdams-pa sect, but (5b)
later he attended on the Venerable Mid-la and practised

7 i.e., the Źi-byed doctrine

8 Dpe-'grems means a "student possessing a text-book." In ancient Tibet only hand-written text-books were available, and their number was very limited.

9 The Venerable Mid-la, rÑog Tshur and Mes were known as the "Four Great Pillars of rJe Mar-pa" (rJe Mar-pa'i ka-čhen-bži).

many precepts. Having attained the great undefiled wisdom (zag-pa-med-pa'i ye-śes, anasrāva-jñāna), he laboured for the benefit of living beings, and became the Leader of the Doctrine in the Meditative Lineage (sgrub-brgyud). His disciples were numerous, both in regard to numbers and the excellence of their achievements. The synchronisation of teachers and their dates is to be understood in the above manner.

THE CHAPTER ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONTEMPORANEITY OF DATES

During the sixty-four years which preceded Atīśa's coming to Tibet, kLu-mes, teacher and disciple (kLu-mes dpon slob), had erected numerous temples. In the year Earth-Female-Hen (sa-mo-bya—1009 A.D.) the Mo-ra-'gyel vihāra was erected. In the following year (1010 A.D.) the kalyāṇa-mitra gLan Ye-śes-'bar, rÑog Byaṅ-čhub 'byuṅ-gnas and others took up monastic ordination. In the next year they took over Yer-pa Ba-ren. According to other accounts, they laid the foundation of the Yer-pa lha-khaṅ in the year Iron-Ape (lčags-spre—1020 A.D.). Gru-mer Ye-śes 'byuṅ-gnas and eighteen others took up ordination. gLan, rÑog and sNa-nam, the three, and Gru-mer, the fourth, are known as the "Four Pillars" (Ka-ba bži). The kalyāṇa-mitra kLu (dge-bśes kLu) and Sum, the two, are known as the "Two Beams" (gDuṅ-gñis). Khu and Rṅ, the two, were called the "Southern door-bolt" (lho'i sgo-glegs), and the "Northern door-bolt" (byaṅ-gi sgo-glegs) respectively. gLan Ye-śes byan-čhub, nephew of the kalyāṇa-mitra gLan Ye-śes-'bar, and a disciple of both kLu and Sum, gÑos Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan of 'Tshal-čhuṅ, 'Phaṅs dBaṅ-phyug rgyal-mtshan, the two gZi and rLun, disciples of 'Brom-pa, the younger brother of kLu-mes čhen-po, the builder of Ba-lam Śa-tsha, dGe-dom, the builder of Mon-mgar-'gan, gŽon-nu grags and other important disciples of kLu and Sum, were called "Rafts" (Phyam). Bhe-ston rDo-rje śes-rab, the (6a)

builder of sGre-mkhar in Upper gYu-ru, though not a (6a)
disciple, was included among them, being a great man. "Planks"(gral-buy—dral-bu) were called those who were junior to the above (mentioned) disciples. Sum-pa erected gYu-sgro and Khaṅ-dmar. gLan built rGya-sar-sgaṅ. sNa-nam built Ra-tshag of Yab. Later he built the temple of rGyal-lug-lhas. rṄog on leaving Yer-pa, built Lhuṅ-pa of gZad. Then he built Tsha-mig and the ārāma (kun-dga' ra-ba) of gŽu. 'Bre of South-Western Lha-mdo and other localities, belong to the school of rṄog. Some eight monks belonging to the school of the kalyāna-mitra Gru-mer and others, after requesting kLu-mes in person, built Sol-nag Than-po-čhe. The kalyāna-mitra kLu-mes and his brother built Ba-lam Śa-tsha on the border of Mi-čhos kLu-mes, the great kalyāna-mitra, took over Kwa-čhu. Then he built Tshon-'dus-gnas of Gra-phyi, and proceeded to Than. Later he took up his residence at the Se-ra cave of Tshe-spoṅ. He died on the way to Than. The uncremated remains of kLu-mes, the great kalyāna-mitra, and of Gru-mer are enshrined in the stūpa of 'Od-čan. The kalyāna-mitra Yam-śud rGyal-ba-'od, a disciple of kLu-mes, on leaving Thaṅ, built with the assistance of the lay-supporters gYu, rTse and sGo, the temple of gYu-rtse, as their object of worship. At that time gÑal-pa and the kalyāṇa-mitra 'Gar-srags took up the vows in the presence of Yam-śud. He took over Yur-'og and rTsi-'or. The Than-pas of gÑal originated from them. The kalyāna-mitra Yam-śud took over Phug-po-čhe. Later he took over many estates, such as Gaṅ-pa Thog, lČan-tshugs and others. He looked after numerous disciples of the kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa mṄon-śes and other teachers. When the kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa took over the temple of Bye-ma from Thaṅ, he also took over dbUr-goṅ-ma. At that time the kalyāna-mitra Gra-pa ordained the four beloved sons of Rog-pa-rtsa. On the plain of the temple of Bye-ma, on this side of the river, he built the temple of Ma-bkod. During his
preaching on the Tantras and the Abhidharma, Ga-sraṅ (6b)

nag-po, a disciple of the kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa, delivered the kalyāṇa-mitra Khu-čhen-po to the nāga of Zur-phud. At the time of the dispute, after it had been reconciled and the judgment pronounced, there arose the necessity of shifting the temple of Ma-bkod to the distance of an arrow shot. This is the present Bye-luṅ (Bye-ma-lun, a district in the vicinity of the gÑan-čhen Thaṅ-lha ?). He reconciled the dispute, which took place during the exposition of the Tantra and Abhidharma, and people used to say: "Let the father of the four sons ride on a horse in pride![10] Let one banish Ga-sraṅ nag-po to (his) native country!" Since that time Phug-po čhe and Gra-than became known as Tantric schools, and Thaṅ-po-čhe with its branches became known as a school of philosophy. At the building of Thaṅ-po čhe, among the "seven and half" monks (ban-de mi phyed-dan-brgyad), there were three monks of Khu. Śuṅ-bu gŽon-nu grags-pa of Khu-dron-tsha left Than (and did not finish the work, and therefore he was called "half") On the border of Khu and Tshes, he built 'Ju-ma. Then on being invited by Śun-bu of Yugs, he built Lho-brag Ba-śi. Then having gone to Yar-stod, he erected Bar-yul, as the object of worship of the three, uncle and nephews (khu-tshan gsum). In this manner the kalyāna-mitras kLu and Sum, possessing the power of resolve of Bodhisattvas, together with their disciples, (erected) in the lower part of dbU-ru (Lha-sa) the four great monasteries, the roots of the Doctrine of Buddha, famous among others: the temple of rGyal-lug-lhas, distinguished by wealth and riches, erected by Žaṅ sNa-nam rDo rJe dbaṅ-phyug, a manifestation of the Jina Maitreya, the ārāma (kun-dga' ra-ba) of gŽu, built by rÑog, distinguished by its house-holders (bza'-mi), Thaṅ-po-čhe, the vihāra erected by the kalyāṇa-mitra Gru-mer and others, and by the "seven and half" monks (ban-de phyed-daṅ-brgyad), famous for its kalyāna-

10 Here "father" means the kalyāna-mitra Gra-pa, the teacher of the four sons of Rog-pa-tsha His riding on a horse means that he had won the case against Ga-sran nag-po

mitras, and Gra-than, the vihāra erected by the kalyāṇamitra Gra-pa mÑon-śes on the border of sNa and Śud, and famous for its temples. The Chapter on the building of vihāras by kLu-mes, teacher and disciples. (7a)

The origin of the preaching of the Vinaya by kLu-mes and Sum-pa

Its Lineage: The "Ten Men of dbUs and gTsaṅ" (dbUs-gTsaṅ-gi mi-bču), comprising kLu-mes and others, proceeded to Khams, and received there ordination. On completion of their studies of the Vinaya, they again returned to dbUs and gTsaṅ. Lo and Tshon having greatly increased the number of monasteries in gTsaṅ, divided them into (groups) of Upper Lo-tshon and Lower Lo-tshon. Rag-śi made converts in Khams. sBa took over dbU-tshal, and 'Briṅ took over Khams-gsum kLu-mes having taken over Kwa-čhu and other monasteries, preached the Vinaya. rÑog Byaṅ-čhub 'byuṅ-gnas, Gru-mer Tshul-khrims 'byuṅ-gnas, gLan Ye-śes śes-rab, sNa-nam rDo-rJe dbaṅ-phyug (were) his four great disciples. The disciples of Gru-mer: rLuṅs Legs-pa'i śes-rab of Gra-phyi-phu, sKyogs Śes-rab 'byuṅ-gnas of Gra-phyi-ba, gZus rDo rJe rgyal-mtshan. rLuṅs and sKyogs proceeded to learn the work of translators, and studied the Vinaya-ksudraka (Kg. 'Dul-ba, No. 6) under the Brahman Vinayadhara ('Dul-ba 'dzin-pa), and the Brahman Śākyasena, and learned the practice (lag-len) of the (Vinaya). gZus having met kLu-mes studied with him the Vinayasūtraṭīkā ('Dul-ba'i mdo'i rgya-čher 'grel-pa, Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4120), the Bam-po lṅa-bču-pa (Pratimoksasūtraṭīkāvinayasamuccaya, Tg. 'Dul-ba, No.4106) and the Vinayavastuṭīkā (Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4113). Later, after his studies with rLuṅs and sKyogs, he became very learned. sKyogs founded Gad-pa steṅs of Yar-kluṅs. gZus had four great disciples: 'Dzims-pa and sNe-pho are the two great disciples from gTsaṅ; gLan and sBo-čhuṅ—the two great disciples from dbUs. Now 'Dzims-pa Śes-rab 'od. he was

a native of Za-ri-roṅ in mÑa'-ris. Having become a great scholar, he heard from gZus the Vinaya. At Ra-sa 'Dzims he founded a Vinaya school ('Dul-ba'i bśad-grwa). Then there (appeared) Žan-žuṅ rGyal-ba'i śes-rab in sTod (Western Tibet), gŽon-tshul in 'Dzims, and 'Bro-seṅ dKar-stod-pa Ye-śes bla-ma in dbUs. The letter founded Ko-khyim, and became known as Ye-śes bla-ma of Ko-khyim. sNe-pho (7b) Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan of Roṅ-lho-rtsa, Žan by clan, founded the Vinaya school of mKhar-phug and dMu. His chief disciple, a native of Lha-ri-rtsa-brgyad, Sog by clan, and known as mChen Tshul-khrims bla-ma, having taken over Ba-so-thaṅ of lDan, Bye-gliṅ and other monasteries, established religious schools (for the study of the Vinaya). gLan Tshul-khrims byaṅ-čhub, a native of rGya-ri-mo-čan, having taken over rGyal of 'Phan-yul, established a (Vinaya) school there. His chief disciple was rGyal-ba gYuṅ-druṅ dbaṅ-phyug. sBo-čhuṅ Tshul-khrims 'byuṅ-gnas was a native of gYor-po Bum-glin. Having taken over bTsan-than, Roṅ-skam and Kwa-čhu, he established there schools for the study (of the Vinaya). His chief disciple was Myan-mtshams Rin-čhen bla-ma of Lower Gra-phyi. The latter's chief disciple was sKam gSal-ba'i sñiṅ-po. The Vinayadhara of rGya[11] his native place was Man-ra in Upper Myan. His parents having died in his early childhood,he stayed among the monks of the Bya-rog tshaṅ monastery. Because of his ugly appeararce, the monks drove him away, saying that harm might result to men and crops. He proceeded to dGa'-ba gdoṅ. He begged (his food) from monks, and spent the night on chaff dust. Hearing them reading the basic texts of the Sūtras, he learnt reading. Later, having mastered by heart the basic texts (gžuṅ), he went to study the Vinaya with Sog. Moreover, he visited every Vinaya scholar residing in dbUs and gTsaṅ, and studied under them. Thus he studied with the "Three Sons" of gZus, with the exception of 'Dzims. In particular,

11 rGya 'dul-'dzin dBaṅ-phyug tshul-khrims-'bar, born in 1047 A.D.

he studied under the three teachers: Sog, Myaṅ-mtshams and Ko-khyim-pa, as well as under sKam. In this manner, at age of thirty-four he reached perfection in the study of the Vinaya. Then having become a kalyāna-mitra, he stayed at dGa'-ba- gdoṅ till the age of eighty. After taking charge of the monastery of Čhu-mig-luṅ, he made a round of many monastic establishments (čhos-gži), and preached extensively the Vinaya. Having grown old after the age of eighty, (8a) he lectured during five years thrice daily on the Pratimokṣa, the Vinayasūtratīkā[12] and the Vinayakārikā,[13] for the most part assisted by an assistant preacher (zur-čhos-pa). He passed away at the age of eighty-five at Śaṅs (n.of a district situated north of bKra-śis lhun-po in gTsaṅ), in the year Iron-Hog (lčags-phag—1131 A.D.). Among his disciples known as the "Four pillars" (Ka-ba-bži) and the "Ten Beams" (gdun-ma bču) (were the following) among the "Four pillars" (Ka-ba bži) 'Dar 'Dul-'dzin (the Vinayadhara of 'Dar) who preached at Śab-lčan-ra, Ra-sa (Lha-sa) and Bo-doṅ, mTha'-bži biTson-'gru-pa-'bar, who assumed the abbotship of 'Um-phug in Myaṅ-ro, his chief disciple being Rin-skyabs of gTsaṅ and Jo-stan Nag-po Dar-tshul who took up ordination at the age of sixty, and after learning to read, studied the Vinaya, and became a good scholar. His disciple, whom he instructed, was Śa-mi in Tsha-roṅ of Yar-kluṅs. The latter's disciple (was) Ka-pa Dar-seṅ. His disciple Thag-ma rDor-gžoṅ. The latter's disciples rNal-'byor Byaṅ-seṅ, sBal-ti Jo-stas and gŽu-ba sTon-yes. rNal-'byor Byaṅ-seṅ taught at Lha-žiṅ Khri-dgu and 'Tshal-čhuṅ. Later he founded the monastery of Gro-sa in 'Phan-yul. His disciple Ka-ba sTon-nam founded Grags-tshab of Upper Phyā. sBal-ti became the abbot of Bran Ra-mo-čhe, and founded the monastery of sKyor-mo-luṅ. rMa-tsho Byaṅ-čhub rdo-rje having brought with him about five hundred monks of rGya, taught in dbUs. 'Dar, mTha'-bži,

12 Tg. 'Dul-ba, No 4120
13 Tg 'Dul-ba, No 4123

Jo-ston and rMa-tsho are called the "Four pillars" (Ka-ba bži). Śa-mi first joined at rGya—Bya 'dul-'dzin (the Vinayadhara of Bya), a disciple of rMa-tsho, born in the year Iron-Female-Sheep (lčags-mo-lug — 1091 A.D.) at gTsan-ron-gyun. He was ordained in the presence of 'Bre čhen-po and was given the name of brTson-'grus-'bar. He studied the Vinaya with Sog, who passed away when he was thirty-six. After his studies with rGya and rMa-tsho, who were retired abbots, he became learned in the Vinaya. He studied the Mādhyamika and Nyāya under rGyal-tsha Žan-ye and the Yoga Tantra under Zans-dkar lo-tsā-ba. He studied the bKa'-gdams-pa doctrine under sTod-luns-pa čhen-po. Later he founded the monastic college (bśad-grwa) at Zul-phu. dPe-dkar himself having assumed the form of a novice, attended on him. He never seemed to transgress even a single precept of the Vinaya, except when he was wearing a fur-coat trimmed with fur on the outside. For nine years he attended classes, and later practised the method (ñams-len) of Secret Precepts (man-nag). He had seventy-six disciples who were able to benefit living beings. In this manner Bya-'dul greatly laboured for the sake of the Doctrine. At the age of seventy-six he passed away in the mansion of Zul-phu. His disciple the astrologer gŽon-nu sen-ge taught for eighteen years throughout the four seasons the Vinaya in gTsan, but no great benefit arose. After that many disciples, dbOn-po Čhos-dban and others, passed away. lČe'Dul-'dzin (the Vinayadhara of lČe) of gTsan-ron founded the monastic college (bśad-grwa) of Ṅur-smrig and other monasteries. Three years after the death of Bya-'dul, Rog Čhos-dban, a nephew of Bya, became abbot of Zul-phu. (Later) the Rog family remained in control of Zul-phu. Then Čhos-dban Nam-bza'-'phred-gsol, a disciple of Rog, abbot of Zul-phu. After that, his disciple the abbot of Zul-phu-Čhos-kyi brtson-'grus. The latter's disciple the abbot of Zul-phu—Čhos-grags Rin-čhen-dpal. His disciple Ka-bži-pa, abbot of Tshogs-pa. The latter's chief disciples were bSod-nams grags-pa and 'Dul-'dzin (Vinayadhara)

Grub-pa-dpal. Bu Rin-po-čhe (Bu-ston Rin-čhen-grub) was the disciple of these two.

Further, the disciple of rTsis-pa (the Astrologer) dPal-ldan-gros took over sNar-than. 'Phyar-sTon-nag-mo taught at kLas-mo-čhe, sTag-tshal smon-gro and at Roṅ-mkhar-phug. His disciple mÑa'-ris dgra-bčom (the Arhat of mÑa'-ris) studied for a while under dPal-ldan rÑor-gžon. Later on having met sTon-nag-mo, he became learned. He founded the monastery of sBa-gor brag-nag and Zam-'tsher. He had eight disciples, including 'Chims Nam-mkha'-grags and Gyaṅ-mo-čhe. His last disciple was Seṅ-ge zil-gnon. The "Ten Beams" of rGya (rGya'i gduṅ-ma bču) were: sNar-rgya Tshul-khrims yon-tan, Dags-po 'Dul-'dzin, sNar-rgya Rin-tshul, sPyi-ther-ba Rin-tshul, Kha-ru Mes-ston, 'Dzims-pa Mes-ston, 'Dzims-pa kLog-sñin, lDog-pa Ye-grags, dPal-'byor śes-rab of mÑa'-ris, gÑal-pa Dar-ma 'od-zer. Some maintain that Dar-ma 'od-zer should not be included in the list, but that Myan 'Dul-'dzin should be counted among the "Ten Beams". sKye-pho Tshul-'phags· he taught at Ne'u-ru. His chief disciple was 'Dar Tshul-khrims rgyal-po of Upper 'Dar-čho. The latter's chief disciple was sNa-nam mgo-pa sTod 'Dul-ba 'dzin-pa Tshul-khrims-'bum (Tshul-khrims-'bum, Vinayadhara of sTod and headman of sNa-nam). The latter's disciple was Dar-yul 'or-pa Ñi-stens-pa bLo-gros grags. His disciple was rGyal Gro-phu-ba Tshul-khrims grags. His disciple Dar-yul sna-mo-ba Grags-pa sMon-lam blo-gros and others. A later disciple Brag-dmar rDo-rje phur-pa of rGya was known as sTod-pa Dharma. He taught at Brom-pa Brag-dmar to Zaṅ-ži-mdzes Śes-rab, a disciple of rGya brDa-'dul-'dzin Having been ordained by rGya, he studied for a long time under rGya and sKye-pho. Later he became an assistant of Brag-dmar-pa, and preached for three years. His disciple the kalyāṇa-mitra Śākya grub-pa and brDa-'dul-'dzin taught in Upper Śab and other localities. rÑog-btsun dKar-mo of Čhu-mig having requested him, he acted as abbot of Čhu-mig sde-skor. His disciple (were): Kye-ma Grags-

(9a)

tshul of Draṅ-po-luṅ, and Čhag Ñi-ma at Śaṅs-sreg-žiṅ. mTha'-ston founded a monastic college (bśad-grwa) at Myaṅ-ro bLa-riṅs. The kalyāṇa-mitra Śāk-grub (Śākya grub-pa) acted as abbot of brDa. kLog-skya dPal-'byor studied under him and later preached at Don-mo-ri. Skyel, Žaṅ Śes-rab-'od, dbOn-po Khri-brtan seṅ-ge and Śāk-rdor (Śākya rdo-rje), the four, became his assistants. Later Śes-rab-'od acted as abbot. This was the origin (of the school) of the Vinaya students ('Dul-gra-pa) of Čhu-mig. Further, the Kha-čhe pan-čhen (Śākyaśrī, 1204-1213 A.D.) conducted the summer retreat (dbyar-gnas) at sNar-blas-mo-čhe. When he was expounding the Vinayakārikā (Me-tog phreṅ-rgyud, Tg.No. (9b)
4123), Seṅ-ge zil-gnon and Śaṅs-pa Jo-stan heared it from him, and (later) both composed commentaries (on it). The Pramāṇa-puruṣa (Tshad-ma'i skyes-bu) bSod-nams mgon-po studied under Seṅ-ge zil-gnon. Bu-ston obtained it from the latter. The above (account) has been written according to the writings (gsuṅ-rab) of the great Vinayadhara ('Dul-'dzin čhen-po) Bu (Bu-ston).

Further, Śa-mi's disciple—kLubs-dkar Tshul-khrims-grags. His disciples: the Vinayadhara sNubs, Gyam-bzaṅs Čhos-rje, Gra-mi and many others. Gra-mi's disciple (was) the abbot of rGya-dur, Dar-ma ye-śes. The latter's disciple was Dar-ma bsod-nams of Zaṅs-čhen. His disciple (was) mTsho-sna-pa Śes-rab bzaṅ-po. The preaching of the Vinaya, as expounded by these two, continued without interruption up-to the present day at Zaṅs-po-čhe of gÑal, Bra-gor and other (monasteries). rGya-dur Dar-yes' disciple—mKhas-btsun Dad-pa mgon proceeded to sPyan-gyas, and taught there the Vinaya. There also the continuity of the preaching of the Vinaya continued up-to the tenth teacher (of the Lineage). Before that, there appeared many other Vinaya-dharas, such as Don-steṅs-pa, the personal disciple of Gra-pa, and others, Lho-pa, the All-knowing, and others. Further, the teaching of the Vinaya was carried on at Khrab-la-kha in the early days of my life. In this Central

Tibet (dbUs) also the teaching of the Vinaya was continued for a long time at Zul-phu, sKyor-mo-luṅ, dGa'-ba-gdoṅ and Gro-sa. At Gro-sa (in 'Phan-yul) especially dMar-ston the Great, uncle and nephew, acted as supporters of great Tripitakadharas (sde-snod 'dzin-pa), who were studying the Vinaya ('Dul-ba don-du gñer-ba). At present the best of the preachers of the Vinaya ('Dul-ba'i čhos-smra-ba, Vinaya-dharmavādin) is the great Sthavira (gnas-brtan čhen-po) dGe-legs-dpal. In the course of time when numerous libertine monks had taken up ordination, rJe-btsun dam-pa bLo-bzaṅ grags-pa'i dpal (Tsoṅ-kha-pa, 1357-1419) thoroughly studied the Vinaya under the great abbot (mkhan-čhen) bLo-gsal-ba at the monastery of sKyor-mo-luṅ. Later he did not transgress the precepts of the Vinaya while practising meditation in hermitages. Afterwards when looking after (10a) his attendants, he issued orders that in his presence all should wear the three religious robes, and keep the mat, the bowl and other articles prescribed by the Vinaya. In conformance with the precepts (upadeśa, man-nag) of the great Venerable Master (Atīśa), he purified the minds of the three kinds of human beings, and by a mind filled with disgust towards all Phenomenal Existence ('khor-ba, samsāra), they transformed the (ordination) vows into the very essence of the Pratimokṣa monastic code. Following their example, this teaching of the Vinaya shone like the Sun in this country of Tibet. In Upper mṄa'-ris, notwithstanding the fact that king (mṅa'-bdag) Sroṅ-ne had greatly fostered the spread of the Doctrine and had been faithful to the tradition of his ancestors, no upadhyāyas and ācāryas (mkhan-slob) were available (to perform the ordination rite). Therefore the father and (his) sons (i.e. the king and his sons), the three, took the badge of monkhood before the sacred images. The (king's) name was changed to that of Ye-śes-'od. After the invitation of the East Indian paṇḍita Dharmapāla many received ordination and studied the practice of the Vinaya. The story is told in the following verses:

"Byaṅ-čhub seṅ-ge of Žiṅ-mo-čhe maintained
that the later Vinayadharas of mÑa'-ris
belonged to the Indian Lineage.
Namely, the Meditative Lineage (sgrub-pa'i brgyud),
and the Lineage of Teaching (bśad-pa'i brgyud).
Now the Meditative Lineage:
Lha-rgyal bLa-ma Ye-śes-'od,
known as a manifestation of Mañjuśrī,
As prophesied in the Great Mūla-Tantra (i.e. the Mañjuśrī-mūla-tantra),
built the incomparable and miraculous vihāra
(dPe-med lhun-grub gtsug-lag-khaṅ) of Tho-lin.
From Eastern India, a learned monk, endowed with the thunder of Fame,
the lofty banner of glory,
apparent to all, named Dharmapāla,
was invited by Ye-śes-'od.
He, whose mind was exhorted by the Sun of Mercy,
in order to promulgate the Precious Doctrine,
acted as upādhyāya, and spread the Meditative Lineage.
His three chief disciples (mkhan-bu) were:
the monk Sādhupāla, the Lord Guṇapāla and the monk Prajñāpāla.
Prajñāpāla's disciple was
the Vinayadhara of the country of Žaṅ-žuṅ,
who guarded the moral precepts, as the tail of a yak and the eye-ball.[14]
He studied extensively the Vinaya-piṭaka,
the source of all knowledge. (10*b*)
Heaven and Earth were enveloped by his Fame,
and from the cloud of (his) Mercy fell the shower of religious teaching.

14 According to a legend 'Tibetan yaks possess beautiful tails of the colour of the Vaiḍūrya stone, and are careful not to damage their tails against, bushes and thorns

Having renounced the wicked nature of the Mind and taken up ordination,
he spread greatly the Precious Doctrine.
He became known as the monk rGyal-ba'i śes-rab,
whose name it is difficult (for me) to pronounce.
Having studied well Grammar,
he attended on numerous paṇḍitas,
who on hearing about his vast knowledge,
which when remembered causes tears to be shed,
and makes hair stand on end,
and produces faith,
expressed the wish to meet this great man (skyes-mčhog, parama-puruṣa)
After having studied the (Vinaya) practice with Dharmapāla,
later he studied the practice of the Vinaya
with the Vinayadhara Pretākara,
a Brahman very famous for his learning,
who held dear the moral precepts,
and stayed in Nepāl
The monk rGyal-ba'i śes-rab having obtained the Prātimokṣa
and its commentary called Vinaya-saṃgraha ('Dul-ba bsdus-pa, Tg 'Dul-ba, No 4106),
from Jñānaśrī, a follower of many scholars,
whose Fame encompassed Jambudvīpa,
who inherited (his knowledge) from two Lineages of Teaching,
and from two teachers of the Meditative Lineage,
made a translation (of these texts).

Further this monk corrected the faulty and missing portions of the Ārya-Mūlasarvāstivādiśrāmaṇerakārikā (Sum-brgya-pa, Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4124),

and its commentary called Prabhāvatī ('Od-ldan, Ārya-Mūlasarvāstivādiśrāmaṇerakārikāvṛttiprabhāvatī. Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4125),

translated by the monk dGe-blo at the feet of Śrī Subhūtiśānti, the learned paṇḍita of Kāśmīra.

Having compared the (text of the translation) with the text from Magadha,

he preached it at the request of the devaputra (lha-yi sras) Byaṅ-čhub-'od, whose mind was softened by mercy.

The latter heard the exposition of his translation of the commentary called "Benefit to the Disciple" (sLob-ma-la phan-pa).[1]

He became known as the "Great Paṇḍita of Kāśmīra" (Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen).

From Samantaśrījñāna he obtained

the Śrāmaṇerakārikā (Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4127),

and made a good translation of them.

Having compared it with the Sanskrit original texts from India, Kāśmīra and Nepāla,

the monk rGyal-śes taught it.

Having brought from Nepāla, the Sanskrit text of the Śrāmaṇeravarṣāgrapṛcchā (dGe-tshul-gyi dan-po'i lo-dri-ba, Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4132), (11a)

when he came to Tho-liṅ,

he consulted the Sanskrit text (of the book) which belonged to Dharmapāla.

Then having corrected it in the presence of the upādhyāya Narayadeva of Kāśmīra,

he translated it, as well as taught it.

The Bhikṣuvarṣāgrapṛcchā (dGe-sloṅ-gi dan-po'i lo-dri-ba, Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4133, translated by Dīpankaraśrījñāna and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba) was corrected by the monk Byaṅ-čhub 'byuṅ-gnas,

and was translated by the East Indian scholar and saint, encompassed by fame,

whose name it is difficult to utter (the name of the upādhyāya was not to be mentioned),

Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna and the monk Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba

1 Bu-ston bsTan-'gyur dkar-čhag, gSuṅ-'bum, vol XXVI (La), fol 106b; Triśatakārikāvyākhyāna, Tg 'Dul-ba, No 4126

From them the text was received by the great Vinaya-dhara of Žaṅ-žuṅ.

The two ācāryas whose name end in "bLo-gros" and "Śes-rab" heard it from the latter.

The Bhikṣukārikā (Vinayakārikā, Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4123) were translated by the monk Prajñākīrti,

assisted by the scholar Jayākara,

a Nepālese paṇḍita, master of Scriptures (luṅ, āgama) and yogic insight (rtogs-pa).

dPal-gyi 'byor-pa heard it from him.

The Śrāmaṇeraśikṣāpadasūtra (dGe-tshul bslab-pa'i gži-mdo, Tg 'Dul-ba, No. 4130),

was translated and taught by the learned translator (sgra-skad byan-pa'i lo-tsā-ba)

the monk gŽon-nu mčhog at Tho-lin,

assisted by the learned paṇḍita Parahita of Kāśmīra,

and the scholar Mahājana,

who belonged to a numerous Lineage.

The ācārya dPal-'byor śes-rab[2] heard this Doctrine from him."

According to the above, Dharmapāla and Pretaka appear to have belonged to the Spiritual Lineage of the Practice (lag-len). Subhūtiśrīśānti and others belonged to the Lineage of Teaching (bśad-brgyud). *The Chapter of the History of the Vinayadharas.*

Among those known as the "Four Pillars of kLu-mes" (kLu-mes-kyi ka-ba bži). except for rGyal lha-khaṅ, the records of the Lineages of Abbots of the other three monasteries are not found. This rGyal lha-khan was founded by sNa-nam rDo-rje dbaṅ-phyug, who was known to be a manifestation of Maitreya. Now sNa-nam rDo-rje dbaṅ-phyug: he was born at Ñams-dga'-mo in the year Fire-Male-Mouse (me-pho-byi-ba—976 A.D.) as son of father sNa-nam

2 The text has (Book II (kha), fol 11b) de-la slob-dpon dPal-gyi 'byoz// śes-rab-dag-gis gsan-pa-yin// The name is split in order to fit the verse.

Jo-sras and mother sGrol-ma, Lady of Žaṅ (Žaṅ-lčam). When he was three, in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—978 A.D.), the Doctrine of the Vinaya spread from Khams to dbUs. At eighteen, he took up ordination in the year Water-Female-Serpent (čhu-mo-sbrul—993 A.D.) in the presence of kLu-mes at a place called Ra-ba zlum-po ("Circular Enclosure"). This year is the 93-rd year from the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—901 A.D.) of gLaṅ Dar-ma. After that, he first erected the vihāra of Čhag (Čhag-gi gtsug-lag-khan). Later, when he was in his thirty-seventh year, in the year Water-Male-Mouse (čhu-pho-byi-ba—1012 A.D.) he erected the vihāra of rGyal-lug-lhas ('Phan-yul). In the same year the Master Mar-pa was born. In his eighty-fifth year, in the year Iron-Male-Mouse (lčags-pho-byi-ba—1060 A.D.) he died. He journeyed to India in search of instructions in the Vinaya. There he met rDo-rje gdan-pa. It is said that rDo-rje gdan-pa made him teach the Vinaya to two other novices, and thus he taught it. If this is true, then he must have known also the work of a translator. In the year Fire-Female-Serpent (me-mo-sbrul—1017 A.D.), which was the sixth year from the year Water-Male-Mouse (čhu-pho-byi-ba—1012 A.D.), when the temple of rGyal was founded, Gru-mer, after requesting kLu-mes permission, founded Sol-nag Than-po-čhe. This was the seventh year of Khu-ston brTson-'grus gyuṅ-drun. Khu-ston and Nag-tsho lo-tsā-ba, who had invited the Master Atīśa, were both born in the same year (i.e. in 1011 A.D.). After that, gLaṅ Tshul-byan was born in the year Wood-Male-Dragon (śiṅ-pho-'brug—1004 A.D.). In his fifty-seventh year, in the year Iron-Mouse (lčags-byi—1060 A.D.), he became abbot. After that, for forty-two years he acted as abbot. He passed away in his ninety-ninth year, in the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1102 A.D.). He was the upādhyāya of Pu-to-ba. 'Briṅ-ston was born in the year Fire-Male-Dog (me-pho-khyi—1046 A.D.) In his fifty-seventh year, in the year Water-Horse (čhu-rta—1102 A.D.) he became abbot. After

(11b)

that, from the year Water-Sheep (čhu-lug—1103 A.D.), for seventeen years, he acted as abbot. At the age of seventy-four, in the year Earth-Hog (sa-phag—1119 A.D.) he passed away. rMa-bya rNa-ra-ba was born in the year Iron-Mouse (lčags-byi—1060 A.D.). At the age of sixty-one, he became abbot in the year Iron-Mouse (lčags-byi.—1120 A.D.), and occupied the chair for ten years. He died in the year Earth-Hen (sa-bya—1129 A.D.) in his seventieth year. rGyal-tsha byaṅ-ye was born in the year Fire-Sheep (me-lug—1067 A.D.). He became abbot in the year Iron-Dog (lčags-khyi—1130 A.D.) aged sixty-four, and occupied the chair for ten years. He died at the age of seventy-three in the year Earth-Sheep (sa-lug—1139 A.D.). 'Brom-ston was born in the year Earth-Male-Horse (sa-pho-rta—1078 A.D.)[3] He became abbot at (12a) the age of sixty-three, in the year Iron-Ape (lčags-spre—1140 A.D.), and occupied the chair for four years. He died in the year Water-Hog (čhu-phag—1143 A.D.), at the age of sixty-four. After him, from the year Wood-Male-Mouse (śiṅ-pho-byi-ba.—1144 A.D.) to the year Water-Ape (čhu-spre—1152 A.D.), Ai acted as abbot during one summer period only. Then for nine years there was no abbot, except for the above summer period. The kalyāna-mitra Tshul-'phags was a native of Naṅ-lam, and was born in the year Iron-Male-Horse (lčags-pho-rta—1090 A.D.). At the age of sixty-four in the year Water-Female-Hen (čhu-mo-bya—1153 A.D.) he became abbot, and occupied the chair for seven years. He died in the year Earth-Female-Hare (sa-mo-yos—1159 A.D.), at the age of seventy. From the year Iron-Dragon (lčags-'brug—1160 A.D.) to the year Water-Sheep (čhu-lug—1163 A.D.) for four years there was no abbot. rGyal-ba Khyuṅ-tshan Thod-dmar-pa was born in the year Water-Female-Sheep (čhu-mo-lug—1104 A.D.). He became abbot in the year Wood-Male-Ape (śiṅ-pho-spre'u—1164 A.D.), aged sixty-two, and occupied the chair for seven years. He died in the year Wood-

3 'Brom-ston of rGyal.

Sheep (śiṅ-lug—1175 A.D.) at the age of seventy-three. From the year Fire-Ape (me-spre—1176 A.D.) to the year Earth-Dog (sa-khyi—1178 A.D.) for three years the chair remained empty. rGyal-ba Ye-grags was a native of Sa-dmar, and was born in the year Fire-Ape (me-spre—1116 A.D.). He became abbot in the year Earth-Hog (sa-phag—1179 A.D.) at the age of sixty-four, and occupied the chair for nine years. He died at the age of seventy-two. During this period, the chair remained empty in the year Earth-Ape (sa-spre—1188 A.D.). The Kalyāṇa-mitra gLan was born in the year Earth-Male-Ape (sa-pho-spre'u—1128 A.D.). He became abbot in the year Earth-Hen (sa-bya—1189 A.D.) at the age of sixty two, and occupied the chair for three years. He died in the year Iron-Hog (lčags-phag—1191 A.D.) at the age of sixty-four. From the erection of the temple (rGyal lha-khan) to this year 180 years have passed. The kalyāṇa-mitra Dri-'dul acted as abbot for one year only, in the year Water-Male-Mouse (čhu-pho-byi-ba—1192 A.D). The kalyāṇa-mitra sKyon was a native of sKam-skam and was born in the year Earth-Female-Hen (sa-mo-bya—1129 A.D.). He became abbot in the year Water-Female-Ox (čhu-mo-glan—1193 A.D.), at the age of sixty-five, and occupied the chair for eight years. He died in the year Iron-Ape (lčags-spre—1200 A.D.), at the age of seventy-two. The kalyāṇa-mitra lČan-ri-ba was born in the year Iron-Dragon (lčags-'brug—1160 A.D.). At the age of forty-two he became abbot, and occupied the chair for eighteen years, from the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—1201 A.D.) to the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—1218 A.D.). After him gLan-ston Śer-seṅ acted as abbot for six years, from the year Earth-Hare (sa-yos—1219 A.D.) to the year Wood-Ape (śiṅ-spre—1224 A.D.). Źaṅ-ston 'Tshem-ba acted as abbot for thirteen years from the year Wood-Hen (śiṅ-bya—1225 A.D.), to the year Fire-Hen (me-bya—1237 A.D.). After him, from the year Earth-Dog (sa-khyi—1238 A.D.) till the year Water-Mouse (čhu-byi—1252 A.D.), for fifteen years, the chair was empty. In the third year (12b)

after the year Earth-Dog (sa-khyi—1238 A.D.), in the year Iron-Male-Mouse (lčags-pho-byi-ba—1240 A.D.) the Mongol troops came to Tibet. The temple (of rGyal) was burnt,[4] and about five hundred of the laity, and clergy, headed by the monk So-ston, were killed. The Mongol Dor-tog[5] having repented, presented several measures (bre) of gold and silver, and arranged for the rebuilding of the temple. The Middle Temple (Lha-khaṅ Bar-pa) was rebuilt by Žaṅ-lha, who was however unable to erect the temple of Dar. They rebuilt the temple (lha-khan) of Bya-grags, and placed the statue of Buddha as the chief sacred image (of the temple). After this, the temples were duly consecrated Then the kalyāṇamitra gNas-brtan (occupied the chair) from the year Water-Ox (čhu-glan—1253 A.D.) to the year Fire-Dragon (me-'brug—1256 A.D.), for four years. gLaṅ-ston Seṅ-ge-'bum from the year Fire-Serpent (me-sbrul—1257 A.D.) to the year Earth-Hare (sa-yos—1279 A.D.), for twenty years. The upādhyāya Bar-pa from the year Iron-Dragon (lčags-'brug—1280 A.D.) to the year Earth-Mouse (sa-byi—1288 A.D), for nine years. Byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' from the year Earth-Ox (sa-glaṅ—1289 A.D.) to the year Fire-Horse (me-rta—1306 A.D.), for eighteen years. Kun-spaṅs Lha-ri-ba from the year Fire-Sheep (me-lug—1307 A.D.) to the year Wood-Mouse (śiṅ-byi—1324 A.D.), for eighteen years. The mahā-upādhyāya Jñānaprajña was born in the year Wood-Male-Horse (śin-pho-rta—1294 A.D.). At the age of thirty-two he became abbot, from the year Wood-Ox (śiṅ-glaṅ—1325 A.D.) to the year Iron-Hare (lčags-yos—1351 A.D.), for twenty-seven years. He passed away at the age of fifty-nine in the year Water-Dragon (čhu-'brug—1352 A.D.). From the building of the temple (of rGyal) to this Iron-Hare year (lčags-yos—1351 A D.) 340 years have elapsed. The

4 According to Rev dGe-'dun Čhos-'phel the Temple of rGyal still bears traces of fire.

5 Doorda darqan I J Schmidt· 'Geschichte d. Ost-Mongolen," p. 110 and 111.

mahā-upādhyāya 'Jam-dpal ye-śes was born in the year Wood-Male-Tiger (śiṅ-pho-stag—1314 A.D.). He acted as abbot for one year, aged forty, in the year Water-Serpent (čhu-sbrul—1352 A.D.). He died at the age of seventy-seven in the year Iron-Male-Horse (lčags-pho-rta.—1390 A.D.). The upādhyāya Ye-śes bsod-nams rgya-mtsho-ba was born in the year Iron-Male-Horse (lčags-pho-rta—1330 A.D.). He became abbot in the year Wood-Horse (śin-rta—1354 A.D.) at the age of twenty-five, and occupied the chair for twenty-six years. In the year Earth-Sheep (sa-lug—1379 A.D.) he became an ascetic (kun-spaṅs), and died at the age of fifty-one in the year Iron-Ape (lčags-spre'u—1380 A.D.). The great ascetic (kun-spaṅs čhen-po) bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan was born in the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1342 A.D.). At the age of thirty-eight he became abbot in the year Earth-Male-Sheep (sa-mo-lug—1379 A.D.), and continued to act as abbot for twelve years till the year Iron-Male-Horse (lčags-pho-rta—1390 A.D.). In the year Iron-Horse (lčags-rta—1390 A.D.), aged forty-nine, he entrusted the chair to his nephew bSod-nams grags-pa, and himself became an ascetic. He died at the age of sixty-eight in the year Earth-Female-Ox (sa-mo-glaṅ—1409 A.D.). sPyan-sna bSod-nams grags-pa was born in the year Fire-Male-Hen (me-mo-bya—1357 A.D.). He became abbot at the age of thirty-four in the (134a)
year Iron-Horse (lčags-rta—1390 A.D.). After that, till the year Water-Serpent (čhu-sbrul—1413 A.D.) twenty-three years elapsed. This Water-Serpent (čhu-sbrul—1413 A.D.) is the Water-Serpent year which followed the year of the great earthquake. After that, from the year Wood-Horse (śin-rta—1414 A.D.) till the present Fire-Ape year (me-spre—1476 A.D.) 63 years elapsed. One must remember that the year Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre—1476 A.D.) is the 465th year since the foundation of rGyal lha-khan. After sPyan-sṅa bSod-grags-pa, sPyan-sṅa Ye-śes grags-pa bzaṅ-po for three years. After him sPyan-sṅa Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan for thirteen years. sPyan-sṅa Kun-rdor-ba for thirteen years. sPyan-sṅa

bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan for three years. sPyan-sṅa Yon-tan rgyal-mtshan was appointed in the year Wood-Male-Hog (śiṅ-pho-phag—1455 A.D.). To this Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre—1476 A.D.) 22 years elapsed. When sNa-nam rDo-rJe dbaṅ-phyug was sixty-seven, Atīśa arrived in mṄa'-ris in the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1042 A.D.). When he was seventy-two, in the year Fire-Female-Hog (me-mo-phag—1047 A.D.) he visited bSam-yas. *The Chapter on rGyal lha-khaṅ.*

Phug-po-čhe, taken over by the kalyāṇa-mitra Yam-śud, a disciple of kLu-mes, was a branch of Khrab-la-kha. The Lineage of its abbots: Yam-śud rGyal-ba-'od, Gra-pa mṄon-śes, dGyer-čhen dGon rgyab pa; dGyer-mo-čhe-pa, the mahā-upādhyāya (mkhan-čhen) Ṅur-pa čhen-po; Ṅur-ston bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, Ṅur-pa Śes-rab rgyal-mtshan; gŽon-nu Śes-rab; Saṅs-rgyas bzaṅ-po, Śes-rab mgon-po Saṅs-rgyas legs-pa; mGon-po saṅs-rgyas, and the present abbot Chos-legs. Since the time of the mahā-upādhyāya Ṅur-pa čhen-po, they used to practise meditation on rDo-rJe zam-pa ("Diamond Bridge"), and transmitted it. *The Chapter on Khrab-la-kha.*

Khu-ston brTson-'grus gyuṅ-druṅ was born in the year Iron-Female-Hog (lčags-mo-phag—1011 A. D.). He journeyed to Khams with rṄog Legs-pa'i śes-rab and 'Bre čhen-po, and conducted extensive studies under Jo-bo Se-btsun. Having completed their studies, they proceeded to dbUs in the year which followed 'Brom-ston-pa's journey (13b)
to mṄa'-ris. Khu-ston took up residence at Thaṅ-po-čhe, and taught there the Prajñāpāramitā, and the number of monks increased. Dags-po dBan-rgyal also studied the Prajñāpāramitā under him. Proud of his learning, Dags-po did not study the Doctrine with Atīśa. Later he and one named Khyuṅ-po grags-pa, who was famous for his knowledge of the "Old" School of Logic (Tshad-ma rñiṅ-ma), taught in competition on the Mount Po-ta (i.e. Po-ta-la of Lha-sa), and the dMar-po-ri. Khu died in the year Wood-Female-

Hare (śiṅ-mo-yos—1075 A.D.) at the age of sixty-five. In this year Khu Ser-brtson was born, and dbOn-po 'Byuṅ-gnas rgyal-mtshan became abbot. Khu Ser-brtson was a disciple of 'Bre čhen-po. He composed three large and abridged commentaries (ṭīkā) on the Prajñāpāramitā. Numerous disciples were fostered by his teaching. The great scholar Žaṅ gYe-ba was also a disciple of his and of gŽon-nu Tshul-khrims of dKar-čhuṅ. Khu Ser-brtson died at the age of sixty-nine. rGyal-tsha was the last abbot of the Lineage of Abbots at Thaṅ-po-čhe after Gru-mer. With him the Lineage of Abbots became extinct. The houses and property, which were left behind (by him), were taken over by bZaṅ-po-dpal, a bLa-braṅ-pa. The present branches of the bLa-braṅ-pas of Thaṅ-po-čhe, gSer-khan-pas and Khu-pas were considered as outsiders, which had appeared during the later period (because they did not belong to the Spiritual Lineage of Gru-mer).

Now the Khu-pas: they belonged to the Lineage of Khu mDo-sde-'bar. He taught the Mādhyamika system. mDo-sde-'bar was a contemporary of Pa-tshab Ñi-ma grags.

The gSer-khan-pas. Saṅs-rgyas Jo-bo of Lo proceeded to mDo-mkhar. From him originated the gSer-khan-pa Lineage.

The bLa-braṅ-pas: gŽon-nu rgyal-mtshan, a disciple of Čhag lo-tsā-ba. Then gČuṅ-po bLo-gros-dpal. Then dbOn-po bZaṅ-po-dpal. His nephew Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan. These two acted in turn as abbots of rTe'u-ra of gÑal. Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan's nephew bSod-nams dpal-'byor. His nephew the present Dharmasvāmin Čhos-dpal-pa. The reason for Čhag Čhos-rJe-dpal's acceptance of Thaṅ-po-čhe, was that many years previously Thaṅ-po-čhe was presented to (14a) Čhag dGra-bčom-pa, who stayed there for awhile, and followed after him. *The Chapter on Thaṅ-po-čhe.*

The Story of the kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa mṄon-śes:

Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan's minister 'Chims rDo-rJe spre-čhuṅ was not a wealthy man, but very wise and skilled in speech.

The king was very pleased with him. He built the "blue" stūpa of bSam-yas, and the monastery of Upper Byaṅ-čhub-gliṅ. The middle one of his three sons took over sKyid-ru of Lhar-čhe-sgra. His son was called gÑa'-ne. His son was gÑa'-čhuṅ. The latter's son was dPal-legs. His son was bTsan-'od. His son was Žaṅ-se-tsha Legs-brtan. Up-to his time the family were called 'Chims, but after Se-tsha they were called Žan. The eldest of his four sons was called Jo-dga'. His sons were Žaṅ-ston Chos-'bar, sTag-dkar and Žaṅ Dran-pa, the three. Žan-ston Chos-'bar took up ordination, and became learned in many systems of the Tantras and Sūtras, such as the Sādhanas of Saṃvara (bDe-mčhog), Hevajra (dKyes-rdor), Guhyasamāja (gSan-'dus) and the Kālacakra. He also studied the Prajñāpāramitā. He also mastered the Sādhana of Ža-'on rdo-rJe bdud-'dul composed by the ācārya Padma.

Žaṅ-stag dkar-ba's eldest son was sTag-tshab. After him sTag-čhuṅ. After him bŽen-pa. After him gYan-bži—the Four. Then two daughters, in all six. sTag-tshab (Gra-pa mÑon-śes) was born in the year Water-Male-Mouse (čhu-pho-byi-ba—1012 A.D.). He was of the same age as Master Mar-pa. In his youth he worked as shepherd for rÑan during five years. Then his mind having been awakened, he took up ordination in the presence of Yam-śud, and received the name of Śes-rab rgyal-ba. He studied the Vinaya for one year. With his uncle Žaṅ-ston Chos-'bar he studied all the texts known by the latter. Having received the Sādhana of Ža-'on from his uncle, he had a vision (of the deity). Further, after studying for awhile the books, he was able to master them, and his learning became very excellent. He built many vihāras, starting with gYe, and in most parts of gYor. After the death of his uncle, (14*b*)
he did not wish to remain abbot in the monastery of dGon-pa Ri-phug, and became a layman at gNas-mo-čhe of gLag, and built a new mansion for himself. He taught numerous commentaries on the Tantras, and built bDe-mčhog, also

the caitya (sku-'bum) of dGyen-pa rdo-rje. Many disciples of Yar-kluṅs-pa came there, and many gathered to hear his exposition of the commentaries on the Tantras. He received an invitation from a disciple to visit Yar-kluṅs. His fortune increased, and he became known as the kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa.[6] In the meantime he met Dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas and the paṇḍita Somanātha (Zla-ba mgon-po). He offered some gold to Dam-pa, but the latter declined to accept it, and bestowed on him the precepts of Ži-byed sgron-ma-skor-dgu. Somanātha bestowed on him the precepts (avavāda) of the Ṣaḍaṅga (sByor-drug, n. of a system belonging to the Kālacakra). Having meditated on it, he mastered the great wisdom. King Bug-pa-čan being sonless, prayed to Saṃvara, and obtained a son during the same year. He then presented a turquoise called sToṅ-bdud-'dul, to decorate the neck of a sacrificial vase, as remuneration for the initiation rite an image made of gilded bronze, and a golden throne as a thanks-offering (gtan-rag), a silver spoon with the image of a stag, a sword with an ornamented hilt, and an armour with the image of a scorpion on it. Then he proceeded to Gra, and having gathered sufficient funds, built sKyid-ru. Two of his nephews took up there their ordination, and were named 'Byun-šes and 'Byun-tshul. From sKyid-ru came four disciples: Bre-ston 'Bum-lha-'bar who founded gNas-sgor, rŃan-čhun ston-pa who founded sGa-'dra, the kalyāṇa-mitra Lhab who founded So-thaṅ, and the venerable Byan-čhub sems-dpa' who founded Ri-phug. The kalyāṇa-mitra Khu-ston, though himself a former disciple of his, felt envy and enmity towards him, and had recourse to witchcraft. Later he thought that great benefit might arise from the building of a temple on the border of sNa-šud, and asked Ža-'on whether he will be able, or not, to erect a temple, and received the indication that he will succeed in doing so. When he was seventy, he laid the foundation of Gra-thaṅ in

6 A famous gter-bton-pa of the rÑiṅ-ma-pas.

the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—1081 A.D.). In his seventy-ninth year a disciple treated his heart (there exists in Tibet an ancient treatment of heart ailments by drawing out lympth /čhu-ser/ from the heart region with the help of a golden needle), and he passed into Nirvāṇa. At (154)
the time of his death, he had almost completed the building (of the monastery). Its building was completed by his nephews 'Byuṅ-śes and 'Byuṅ-tshul within the three years preceding the Hen year (bya-lo—1093 A.D.). Altogether it took thirteen years to complete.

Ma-gčig Labs-kyi sgron-ma was well-versed in reading and became the house-priestess of the kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa for the purpose of reciting the Prajñāpāramitā. In the meantime she met Dam-pa at Yar-kluṅs rog-pa who bestowed on her the precepts of gČod, following which she attained self-emancipation, and laboured extensively for the welfare of others. The practice of gČod was widely disseminated up-to the present time. When Gra-pa was forty-five, in the year Wood-Female-Sheep (śiṅ-mo-lug—1055 A.D.), rMa-sgom Čhos-kyi śes-rab was born. When he was fifty-one, So dGe-'dun-'bar was born in the year Water-Male-Tiger (čhu-pho-stag—1062 A.D.). In the same year sKor Ni-rū-pa was born. It was said that Gra-pa obtained initiation from him. sKam Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan was a disciple of Gra-pa. Such was the manner in which the "Early" and "Middle" Lineages of the Ži-byed (doctrine) appeared during the life-time of Gra-pa. This Fire-Female-Hare year (me-mo-yos—1027 A.D.) was the first of the current years which were added to the period of 403 years (me-mkha' rgya-mtsho = 403), according to the Kālacakra astrologers (lha-bsdus-pa), and the 16th year of Gra-pa and Mar-pa. It is said that in this very year Gyi-Jo had translated the Kālacakra. I believe that Žaṅ-ston Čhos-'bar, who was also learned in the Kālacakra, followed this translation. After the death of Gra-pa, Čhos-skyabs of Gra-thaṅ, known as Don-steṅs-pa, occupied the chair of Gra-thaṅ. While the followers of the

bKa'-gdams-pa doctrine maintained a liberal attitude towards the bestowing of the cittotpāda initiation (smon-pa sems-bskyed), their attitude towards the bestowing of the "cittotpāda initiation of practice" ('Jug-pa sems-bskyed) was strict. Don-steṅs-pa proceeded to Tuṣita in his dream and met Maitreya. With his hands full of lčam-pa flowers, he showered flowers over the body of Maitreya, and they transformed themselves into a wonderful flower canopy over the head of Maitreya, who said: "If you do not bestow the initiation of the "cittotpāda of practice" ('Jug-pa sems-bskyed) to all high and low living beings in the World of Men, you will be acting (15b)
contrary to My words!" Later he adopted a more liberal attitude towards the bestowing of the "cittotpāda initiation of practice." Don-steṅs-pa himself was a disciple of Rog-dmar žur-ba. When he adopted a more liberal attitude towards the bestowing of the cittotpāda initiation, Rog reproved him. Later he told him about (his dream), adding that it had to be done, and Rog had faith born in him. Then the Teacher told him: "Well, you should bestow it on me!" He then bestowed on Rog the cittotpāda initiation. Don-steṅs-pa acted as abbot of Phu-thaṅ sPyan-gyas, founded by Gra-pa. He was succeeded by the Sthavira Dar-ma bkra-śis, the kalyāṇa-mitra Kha-čhe, the Senior and Junior, Mes-ston Čhos-'bar, Khu sPyan-gyas-pa, Dharma seṅ-ge, the "Southerner", 'Od-'Jo-ba, mKhas-btsun Dad-pa, the paṇḍita of Myaṅ-Nam-mkha' gžon-nu, Nam-mkha'-dpal, mKhas-čhen rGyal-tsha gŽon-nu-grags, mKhas-čhen Saṅs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan, gŽon-nu-dpal, dBaṅ-phyug-dpal, Byaṅ-čhub-dpal, Saṅs-rgyas brtan-pa, gŽon-nu-seṅ-ge, Saṅs-rgyas 'bum-dpal, Čhos-mčhog-pa, Byaṅ-dpal-pa, gŽon-'od-pa, brTson-rgyal-ba and Saṅs-rgyas mgon-po. The kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa erected the old vihāra of sPyan-gyas together with its courtyard and verandah (mdo-khyams), as well as the circular wall. The upper temple (dbu-rtse) of the large vihāra, together with the wall of the outer courtyard, were built by the kalyāṇa-mitra Kha-čhe, the Senior and Junior. While the inmates of sPyan-gyas seem to have been

a medley of followers of the bKa'-gdams-pa doctrine and the Vinaya, in later times the mahā-upādhyāya Nam-mkha' gžon-nu heard from 'Od-gsal-ba the complete exposition of the precepts of sPyan-gyas and Bya-yul-pa. Later he also took over the chair of 'Od-gsal and composed the Čhos-skyoṅ Gri-gug-ma and the Bya-yul gtor-čhen, according to the method of Bya-yul-pa. Henceforth they became followers of the Lineage of Lo Bya-yul-pa. Don-žags-pa Saṅs-rgyas rin-čhen said to the mahā-upādhyāya rGyal-tsha-pa, because of his virtuous character: "I never saw a monk more attractive than you!" He used to praise, saying! "sPyan-gyas, the (16a)
monastery of monks with good character!" This mKhas-btsun Dad-pa who was a preacher of rGya-tur during the life-time of rGya-ñur Dar-yas, came to his monastery at rGya-sar-sgan, and blew the conch. This having somewhat displeased the upādhyāya Dar-yas, he settled in sPyan-gyas and became abbot of sPyan-gyas. Since that time rGya-sar-sgan joined the sPyan-gyas-pas. The mahā-upādhyāya rGyal-tsha, who belonged to the Spiritual Lineage of the Elders of sPyan-gyas proper, was called rGyal-tsha because his mother had been a princess (lha). In his youth he was forced to lead the life of a householder. He stimulated idiocy and pretended not to understand (people). He was therefore seized and chained with an iron chain to a pillar. However they did not succeed in changing his mind, and he took up ordination. He studied well the Vinaya, and then proceeded to study the Mādhyamika system with the ācārya dbU-ma-pa of sKyam, but the omens were not auspicious. He again returned (to the monastery), and the previous abbot having approved of his character, saying that he "should do so for the sake of their vows" (a common sentence told by teachers to their disciple), he was nominated abbot. While acting as abbot, he journeyed to the north of dbU-ru and heard the exposition of the acquisition of Bodhisattvic knowledge, and numerous precepts of the hidden Mantrayāna, as well as practised them. He possessed the trance characterised by a continuous gleam

(ābhāsvara), was established in the practice of the Vinaya and was a Bodhisattva in appearance. On return to his abbotship (mkhan-sa), he found that a great many people in the neighbourhood had perished of a terrible pestilence, and great compassion was born in him. In order to remove their defilement, the ācāryas dGra-bčom-pa and sTon-bśod-pa inaugurated the virtuous practice of perpetual recital (of religious texts). Don-žags-pa Saṅs-rgyas rin-čhen also visited sPyan-gyas. The fast of the "Eleven-faced" (bČu-gčig žal, Avalokiteśvara) is continued there to the present day without interruption. It was inaugrated in the life-time of this abbot. (16b)
When the great scholar rGyal-tsha became abbot, the monastery had not more than thirteen inmates, but in his life-time the number increased to about a hundred. Later during the time of the great scholar Saṅs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan their number increased to about 360. The Lineage of the exposition of the (Bodhi)caryāvatāra at sPyan-gyas: the Teacher Tshul-rgyal-ba having met kLal-pa Kun-rgyal, a direct disciple of 'Jam-dbyaṅs Śākya gžon-nu, studied under him. Thus (the Lineage) originated from Tshul-rgyal-ba. The mahā-upādhyāya Saṅs-rgyas mgon-po-ba was appointed abbot at the age of fifty-two in the year Water-Female-Hen (čhu-mo-bya—1453 A.D.). This Fire-Male-Ape year (me-pho-spre—1476 A.D.), is the 24th year. Ron-skam was first built by the queen dPal-gyi Naṅ-tshul-ma (the queen of king Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan). Later the kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa built there an annex to the temple. At the time of establishing a monastic community there, gZus erected a great vihāra, and inaugurated the teaching of the Vinaya. From that time to the present day the monastic community exists there without interruption. The other monasteries of Gra-pa have no inmates at present. In this manner the doctrine of the Vinaya originated in the third year after the birth of Žaṅ sNa-nam rDo-rje dbaṅ-phyug in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—978 A.D.). From that year to the present Fire-Male-Ape year (me-pho-spre—1476 A.D.), five hundred years, minus one year, have

elapsed. From the birth of the kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa to the year Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre — 1476 A.D.) 465 years have elapsed.

The Chapter on the kalyāṇa-mitra Gra-pa, his disciples and the monastery of a sPyan-gyas (17a)

BOOK III

THE EARLY TRANSLATIONS OF THE MANIRAYĀNA TANTRAS

Whereas the doctrine of the Vinaya spread widely and then declined here in Tibet, the doctrine of the Mahāyāna Tantras has not ceased to exist up-to the present time. During the period which preceded the coming of the paṇḍita Smṛti (to Tibet), they (the Tantras) were called the "Old Tantras" (gSaṅ-sṅags rñiṅ-ma). Here the first three divisions of the eighteen great divisions of the Tantras (rGyud-sde čhen-po bčwo-brgyad or Tantra sde-čhen-po bčwo-brgyad) of the Mantra school (Ṅag-gi lugs) of the "Old Believers" (rÑiṅ-ma-pa):[1] dPal gSaṅ-ba-'dus-pa (included in Vol. XIV /Pha/ of the rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum. The text is said to have been translated by Vimala and dPal-brtsegs. The rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum comprises 25 volumes. The Tantric texts included in this Collection are not found in the bKa'-'gyur. An edition of the rGyud-'bum exists in Derge), Zla-gsaṅ thig-le (rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum, vol. XIV /Pha/, translated by Padmasambhava and dPal-brtsegs), and the Saṅs-rgyas mñam-sbyor (rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum, vol. XIV /Pha/; rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 233a). They are also called the "Tantras of Mind, Speech and Body" (Thugs-gsuṅ-sku'i rgyud). Their preaching lasted long. Many

1 Many Tibetan scholars questioned the genuine character of the rÑin-ma Tantras For this reason Bu-ston did not include them into his Catalogue, and stated in his Čhos-'byun (gSun-'bum, vol.XXIV (Ya), fol. 179b) "Regarding the ancient translations of the rÑin-ma Tantras, the lo-tsā-ba Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po, Lha bla-ma Ye-śes-'od, Pho-bran Źi-ba 'od, 'Gos-khug-pa Lhas-btsas and others were of the opinion that they (the rÑiṅ-ma Tantras) did not represent pure Tantras. My Teacher, the lo-tsā-ba Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan and Rig-ral, as well as others, maintained that they were real Tantras, because they had found the Indian original texts at bSam-yas, and had discovered parts of the Vajrakila Tantra in Nepāl. In my opinion it is better to leave them out, without expressing an opinion (on their authenticity)................"

passages of the gSaṅ-ba sñiṅ-po are quoted in the "Commentary on the Guhyasamāja" (gSaṅ-ba 'dus-pa'i 'grel-pa) by Vajrahāsa (rDo-rJe bžad-pa. This is the Tantrarājaśrīguhyasamājaṭīkā, Tg.rGyud. No. 1909) which is included in a section called the "Chapter on the system of Vajrahāsa" (rDo-rJe bžad-pa'i skor-gyi le'u) in the Index of the bsTan-'gyur prepared by Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe (bsTan-'gyur dkar-čhag, gSuṅ-'bum, vol. XXIV (Ya), fol. 37b-38b), and their method of exposition appears to be the same.[2] The Commentary on the 'Dus-phyi-ma or "Later" Samāja ('Dus-phyi-ma'i 'grel-pa, a Commentary on the 'Dus-phyi-ma, Kg. rGyud, No. 443; Bu-ston gSuṅ-bum, vol. XXVI (La), fol. 34b: le'u bčo-brgyad-pa'i phyed-kyi rtsa-ba'i rgyud rdzogs-pa man-čhad-kyi 'grel-pa sLob-dpon Bi-swa-mitras mdzad-pa), composed by Viśvamitra, which is also included in Bu-ston's Index of the bsTan-'gyur, appears to be a true rÑiṅ-ma-pa work. Also in the Commentary on the mÑam-sbyor (Śrī-Sarvabuddhasamayogaḍākinīmāyāsambaratantrārthodaraṭīkā, Tg. rGyud, No. 1659), composed by Indranāla (brGya-byin sdoṅ-po) are found numerous quotations from the Guhyagarbha (Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. XXVI (La), fol. 27b). This Commentary was also approved by Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe, who quoted extensively from it. Whereas here in Tibet the Sādhana of Vajrakīla (Vajramantrabhīrusandhimūlatantra, Kg. rÑiṅ-rGyud, No. 843; rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum, vol. XXI (Za)) was widely known, there are some who had expressed themselves against this Tantra also. In later times the Dharmasvāmin Sa-skya-pa (Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, 1182-1252 A.D.) discovered at Saṅs-sreg-žiṅ its Sanskrit text which had belonged to the ācārya Padma (sambhava). He translated it and since then all those who had expressed themselves against it, remained silent. When the Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen (Śākyaśrībhadra, 1204-1213 A.D.) arrived at bSam-yas, he

2 The title page of the Tibetan text of the gSaṅ-ba sñiṅ-po does not give the Sanskrit title of the Tantra.

discovered the Sanskrit text of the gSaṅ-ba sñiṅ-po (Guhyagarbha. The gSaṅ-ba sñiṅ-po contained in vol. XII (Na) of the rÑiṅ-ma rgyud-'bum was translated by Vimala, gÑags Jñānakumāra and rMa Rin-čhen-mčhog. See rGyud-'bum dkar-čhag, fol. 232b). Later it got into the hands of rTa-ston gZi-brjid, who presented it to (it) Śa-gaṅ lo-tsā-ba. The latter sent the text to bČom-ldan Ral-gri. bČom-ldan Ral-gri (14)
having accepted it (to be a genuine translation), composed the gSaṅ-sñiṅ sgrub-pa rGyan-gyi me-tog. He showed the text at an assembly of Tantrics at Ma-mo-gnas, and highly praised it. After that Thar-pa lo-tsā-ba made a translation of the gSaṅ-sñiṅ rgyud-phyi-ma which was not found before (rÑiṅ-ma'i dkar-čhag, fol. 232b; the text translated by Thar-lo Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan and included in the rGyud-'bum, vol. XII (Na), consists of the XXXIII and XXXIV chapters of the Tantra only). Most of the pages of the text were damaged, the remaining pages of the Sanskrit manuscript (rGya-dpe) are in my hands. During the time of Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan and his son, many siddhas, followers of the Vajrayāna, appeared, such as 'Bre dPal-gyi blo-gros, sNa-nam rDo-rje bdud-'joms, Ṅan-lam rGyal-mčhog-dbyaṅs, Un-a-naṅ-ga, sNubs Nam-mkha' sñiṅ-po, gLaṅ dPal-gyi seṅ-ge, gLaṅ gTsug-gi rin-čhen, 'Bre rGyal-ba'i blo-gros, Khams-pa Go-čha, Vairocana, rMa Rin-čhen mčhog, gÑags Jñānakumāra, gÑan dPal-dbyaṅs and many others, who were able to move in the sky, penetrate mountains and rocks, float on water, and exhibit before multitudes their forms inside divine maṇḍalas. Further there appeared many female ascetics, such as 'Bro-gza' Dī-paṃ and others. After most of them had passed away, the royal laws became abrogated. During the time of the spread of the general upheaval, sNubs Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes rin-po-čhe attended on many learned men residing in India, Nepāl, Bru-śa (Gilgit) and elsewhere, and thoroughly mastered the mDo dGoṅs-pa 'dus-pa, which had been translated into Tibetan by his teacher the translator of Bru-śa, (Bru-śa'i lo-tsā-ba) Che-btsan-skyes (this book, a rÑiṅ-ma text is found

in vol. X (Tha) of the rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum. According to the Index compiled by 'Jigs-med gliṅ-pa entitled sÑa-'gyur rGyud-'bum rin-po-čhe'i rtogs-pa brJod-pa 'Dzam-gliṅ tha-gru khyab-pa'i rgyan, fol. 231b, the Saṅs-rgyas thams-čad-kyi dGoṅs-pa 'dus-pa'i mdo in 75 chapters was translated from Sanskrit by the Indian upādhyāya Dharmabodhi, Dānaraksita and the lo-tsā-ba Che-btsan-skyes at Bru-śa). His (magic) power became excellent, and all the gods and demons of Tibet made him a promise (i.e. undertook to serve him). He lived for 113 years, and propagated the doctrine of the Tantras. Soon after his death, the teaching of Tantras and Sādhanas became widespread, thanks (to the labours) of the two Zur, the Senior and Junior. When Zur, the Junior, was forty-one, the Master (Jo-bo-rJe, Atīśa) came to Tibet—such is the accepted view. The Holy Doctrine originated during the time of Tho-tho-ri gñan-btsan, which preceded that of gNam-ri sroṅ-btsan. Nothing else is known, except that the royal family worshipped the gÑan-po gsaṅ-ba (the books that were said to have fallen from Heaven). Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po adhered to the Tantric Sādhanas of various benign and wrathful deities, and it seems that there had been many people propitiating these deities. Before (king) Mes Ag-tshom, Tantric Sādhanas existed in secret. Among the many religious practices that appeared (in Tibet), the prayer to Avalokiteśvara and the "Six Letters Formula" (i.e. Oṃ Maṇi Padme hūṃ) spread among all Tibetans, beginning with small children. The book containing the conjuration of Bhairava, composed by Sroṅ-btsan, exists even now-a-days. Śrī-Guhyapati himself delivered a prophecy to the mahā-upādhyāya Las-kyi rdo-rJe (Karmavajra) concerning his former and future rebirths. Further it is said that when Las-kyi rdo-rje was born as a nāga in Yar-kluṅs, he employed witchcraft against a Bhairavī yogin. The latter made a burnt offering, and the nāga and his attendants were all destroyed by fire. The nāga was then reborn as lJaṅ-tsha Lha-dbon. Then Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan invited the mahā-upādhyāya Śāntarakṣita. (24)

Many Tibetans took up ordination, and propagated the doctrine of the Vinaya. Therefore his fame of having propagated widely the Doctrine is well founded. Further, Padmasambhava having come (to Tibet) during that time, he propagated the Tantras. Padma himself bestowed on the king (the initiation) of Vajrakīla and Hayagrīva. The king especially propitiated Hayagrīva. On three occasions the neighing of a horse was heard, and many people heard it. The Vajrakīla (Vajrakīlayamūlatantrakhaṇḍa, rDo-rje phur-pa rtsa-ba'i rgyud-kyi dum-bu, Kg. rGyud, No. 439): Padma bestowed it on the queen (Ye-śes tshogs-rgyal) and on A-tsar Sa-le. Later it spread widely through its Lineage and various schools. 'Jam-dpal-sku (one of the eight rÑiṅ-ma Tantras). the ācārya Śāntigarbha having come to Tibet, propagated (this Tantra). He is known to have performed the consecration ceremony of bSam-yas. (2b)

The Cycle of Yaṅ-dag (Yaṅ-dag-gi skor, one of the eight rÑiṅ-ma Tantras). the ācārya Hūṃ-ka-ra having come to Tibet, is known to have preached (the Tantra) to fortunate ones. This (doctrine) really belongs to the Saṅs-rgyas mÑam-sbyor (rÑiṅ-ma'i dkar-čhag, fol. 233b).

bDud-rtsi (one of the eight rÑiṅ-ma Tantras): this Tantra was preached in Tibet by the ācārya Vimalamitra. From him began (its) Lineage. Thus the "Eight Doctrines of Propitiations" (bKa'-brgyad), as practised by the "Old Believers" (rÑiṅ-ma-pas) were; 'Jam-spal-sku, Padma-gsuṅ, Yaṅ-dag thugs, bDud-rtsi yon-tan, the Five Sections of the Transcendental known as Phur-pa phrin-las (Phur-pa phrin-las-śes 'jig-rten-las 'das-pa'i sde-lṅa), Ma-mo rbod-gtoṅ, dMod-pa drag-sṅags (Curse and witchcraft), 'Jig-rten mčhod-bstod—thus eight classes (the last three belong to the so-called "World" class). Now 'Jam-dpal-sku (corresponds) to Vairocana (rNam-snaṅ). Padma-gsuṅ to Amitābha ('Od-dpag-med). Yaṅ-dag thugs (corresponds) to Akṣobhya (Mi-bskyod-pa). bDud-rtsi yon-tan to Ratnasambhava (Rin-'byuṅ). Phur-pa phrin-las to Amoghasiddha (Don-grub).

They thus correspond to the five Dhyāni-Buddhas (Rigs-lṅa). The three divisions of the so-called "World" class ('Jig-rten-pa'i rigs-kyi sde-gsum), such as Ma-mo and others: it is said in some rÑiṅ-ma-pa texts that because the ācārya Padma had subdued and conjured Tibetan gods and demons, and divided them into three classes, they (i.e. the books) are of Tibetan origin. I believe (this opinion) is acceptable. Further, in the maṇḍala of 'Jig-rten mčhod-bstod the great gods of Tibet are present, such as Śambu and others. These great gods had also met the Buddha. Each of them possesses his own particular Tantric secret word (gsaṅ-sṅags-kyi gsaṅ-tshig). This all is of benefit to the world. dPal-'dzin said: "Were demons destroyed elsewhere, by the fact that Tibetan gods and demons have been introduced into the maṇḍala of (3a)
'Jig-rten mčhod-bstod (Praise of the World)?" These spiteful words represent a misstatement. He (dPal-'dzin) is in great confusion as regards the description of numerous yakṣas of various localities in the Pañcarakṣā (gZuṅs-grwa-lṅa, Kg. rGyud, No. 558, 559, 561, 562 and 563). Here in Tibet, those known as the "Great Perfect Precepts" (man-ṅag rdzogs-pa-čhen-po) are said to be of three kinds: the "Mental" class (Sems-sde), the "Class of Relativity" (kLoṅ-sde, kloṅ being a synonym of stoṅ-pa-ñid, śūnyatā, and čhos-dbyiṅs, or dharma-dhātu), and the "Precept Class" (Man-ṅag-sde). In the "Mental" class there are five precepts which had originated from Vairocana, and thirteen which had originated from Vimala(mitra). The kLoṅ-sde also appears to be in the nature of a precept, and to have originated from Vairocana. The "Precept" class (Man-ṅag-sde) is known as sÑiṅ-thig, and it originated from Vimalamitra. The Lineage was continued by his disciple Myaṅ Tiṅ-ṅe-'dzin bzaṅ-po. The three (classes) spread widely in this country of Tibet. The teaching of the Tantras, which existed among the ancient rÑiṅ-ma-pas, continues up-to the present time. This is the system of sGyu-'phrul gSaṅ-ba sñiṅ-po (included in vol. XII (Na) of the rÑiṅ-ma'i brgyud-

'bum). This (system) was transmitted by Vimala(mitra) to the great translator rMa Rin-čhen-mčhog who made a good translation of it. This translator taught it to gTsug-ru Rin-čhen gžon-nu and Gye-re mČhog-skyoṅ. These two taught it to Dar-rJe dPal-gyi grags-pa and Žaṅ rGyal-ba'i yon-tan. From Žaṅ onwards, his followers became known as the bKa'-čhims phu-bas or the "Lineage of Precepts" (Man-ṅag brgyud). Dar-rJe preached it to many in dbUs and gTsaṅ. Having also visited Khams, he preached it there. Among his followers two schools are known to exist: the dbUs-lugs-pa (the School of dbUs) and the Khams-lugs-pa (the School of Khams). The Commentary on the gSaṅ-ba sñiṅ-po, composed by Ñi-'od seṅ-ge, was translated by the translator Vairocana at the vihāra of 'Og-rṅu Thugs-rJe Byams-čhen in Khams. Thus the teaching of this Tantra appears to have belonged to the Lineage of the ācārya Vairocana also. Further, Vimala(mitra)'s disciple gÑags (3b)
Jñānakumāra and the latter's disciple Sog-po dPal-gyi ye-śes and the ācārya Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes žabs have been his disciples. I believe that there existed also an exposition of the sGyu-'phrul which belonged to his Lineage. In regard to the time of the appearance of this Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes, some say that he lived in the time of Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan, some say that he lived in the time of Ral-pa-čan, and again some say that he lived in the time of Khri bKra-śis brtsegs-pa-dpal. It seems it would be correct to say that having been born in the reign of (king) Ral-pa-čan, he lived until the time of Khri bKra-śis brtsegs-pa-dpal. He had four beloved "sons" (i.e. disciples), and one who was the best among the disciples, in all five. The four sons. So Ye-śes dbaṅ-phyug, to whom he taught the theory only, Pa-gor bLoṅ-čhen 'Phags-pa, to whom he taught the system according to the 'Grel-ṭīkā; Ṅan Yon-tan mčhog, to whom he taught the method of removing the hindrance of bleeding, and Gru Legs-pa'i sgron-ma, to whom he taught (the system) in beautiful verses. To Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, the best of his

disciples, he taught a summary of (his) theory. Having revealed the Hidden to him, he taught him the precepts according to their order. He taught him profound secrets, as if he was giving him food. Since he had taught him the four methods, including the method of removing the hindrance of bleeding (during meditation), Yon-tan rgya-mtsho possessed the complete (understanding) of all the systems. He had two sons: Ye-śes rgya-mtsho and Padma dbaṅ-rgyal. The son of Ye-śes rgya-mtsho was Lha-rje Hūṃ-čhuṅ. The latter taught witchcraft to the Venerable Mid-la. Myaṅ Śes-rab-mčhog was a disciple of Yon-tan rgya-mtsho and his son. He built (4a)
the vihāra of gŚoṅs at Ṅog, and was known to be learned in the utpannakrama (bskyed-rim) and sampannakrama (rdzogs-rim) degrees of the three Classes (i.e. Sems-sde, kLoṅ-sde and Man-ṅag-sde). While he was practising meditation on the rock of Ha'o-rgol, he had a vision of the sphere (maṇḍala) of Vajrakīla (Phur-pa). There exist many stories about his acquiring magic power (siddhi), such as the power of splitting a rock with a vajra, as if it was clay, and others. His disciple Myaṅ Ye-śes 'byuṅ-gnas of Čhos-luṅ was held dear by the teacher, and was learned in both the utpannakrama and sampannakrama degrees of the three Classes. Most of their followers are called the "School of Roṅ". They are also called the "School of Myaṅ" after his family-name. In this connection (it might be said) that while So's three disciples were: Ṅab-thuṅ Byan-čhub rgyal-mtshan, Koṅ-btsun Śes-rab ye-śes and Ra-thuṅ Śes-rab tshul-khrims, gYuṅ-ston-pa enumerates them one after another in the Lineage of the teacher (So). It seems there is a slight error in this, (because they were not his disciples). Thus Myaṅ Śer-mčhog was a disciple of both Yon-tan rgya-mtsho and his son, and of So Ye-śes dbaṅ-phyug. He (taught) Myaṅ Ye-śes 'byuṅ-gnas. The latter's disciple was Zur-po, the Eldest. Because this Zur-po, the Eldest, was also a disciple of sToṅ-tshaṅ 'Phags-pa rin-po-čhe, between Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes and Zur-po, the Eldest, there has been one teacher only.

Now the genealogy (gduṅ-rabs) of Zur: the grandfather of Lha-rJe Zur-po, the Eldest, was Zur Śes-rab 'byuṅ-gnas. His son was bZaṅs Mig-po-čhe. The latter's son was Lha-rJe Zur-po-čhe. Lha-rJe sMan-pa. sGom-čhen Śāk-sde. sGom-čhen rDor-'byuṅ. Zur-po-čhe being a brahmacārin, had no progeny. Lha-rJe sMan-pa was also sonless. sGom-čhen Śāk-sde's son was A-mi Śes-rab bzaṅ-po. His son—A-mi Śer-blo. The latter had four sons: Lha-rJe Zur-dpal, Khams-pa, dBaṅ-ṅe and Jo-mgon. dBaṅ-ṅe had two sons: A-mi He-ru and dBaṅ-mgon. A-mi He-ru's son was Zur 'Od-po, who had two sons: Śāk-mgon and Śāk-'od. sGom-čhen rDor-'byuṅ's son was Jo-btsun rDo-rJe-'bar. His son was Zur-nag 'khor-lo. The latter had two sons: Lha-rJe Kun-dga' and Jo-rtse. Kun-dga's son was rGyal-po. Jo-rtse's son was 'Ber-re. Though in general Lha-rJe Zur-po-čhe Śākya 'byuṅ-gnas had many teachers, he especially studied the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) and the "Mental" class (Sems-phyogs) with Myaṅ Ye-śes 'byuṅ-gnas of Čhos-lun. He obtained the bDud-rtsi from lČe Śākya-mčhog of dGe-goṅ. From gÑan-nag dBaṅ-grags of Yul-gsar, he obtained the secret initiation (guhya-abhiṣeka, gsaṅ-dbaṅ) and the upāya-mārga (here thabs-lam means, as usually in rÑiṅ-ma texts, Tantric sexual practices). He obtained from Thod-dkar Nam-mkha'-sde[1] the mDo class (of the rÑiṅ-ma Tantras), and the Par (sPar)-khab (a commentary on the gSaṅ-sñiṅ). From 'Bre Khro-čhuṅ-pa of Upper Myaṅ, he obtained instruction in the Noumenal Aspect (Ka-dag) and the Phenomenal Aspect (lhun-grub), the Lam-rim čhen-mo (a rÑiṅ-ma text), and other books. He obtained the Yaṅ-dag (one of the eight Tantras) from Rog Śākya 'byuṅ-gnas of bSam-yas 'Čhims-phu. Having studied under the above and many other scholars, he classified (the Tantras) into Mūla-Tantras (rtsa-rgyud, or basic texts), and bśad-rgyud or 'exposition' Tantras (i.e. Tantras expounding the subject- (4b)

3 I.e. the Tokharian. Among Tibetan family names one often finds the name Li, which indicates that the family had come from Li-yul or Khotan.

matter of the basic Tantras). He grouped together the basic texts and their commentaries, and grouped together the Tantras and their corresponding Sādhanas. He also grouped together Sādhanas and ritual manuals (čhog-yig), etc. He preached to the "Four Summits of the People" ('Baṅs-rtse-mo bži), to the "Crown of the Summit" (rtse-lkog), five in all, to 108 ascetics and others. Here the "Four Summits" (rtse-bži). Zur-čhuṅ Śes-rab grags-pa, who became the "Summit of the Theory" (lTa-dgoṅs-kyi rtse-mo); Mi-ñag 'Byuṅ-grags of Pan-nam-bres, who became the "Summit of one form of teaching the Māyā system" (sGyu 'phrul gyi bśad-pa phyogs-čig-gi rtse-mo); Žaṅ 'Gros-čhuṅ-ba of Ra-za, who became the "Summit of Wisdom" (mKhyen-rgya'i rtse-mo), and bZaṅ-sgom Śes-rab rgyal-po of 'Tsho-ña, who became the "Summit of Meditative Practice" (sGom-sgrub-kyi rtse-mo). The (5a) "Crown of the Summit" (rtse-lkog): rTsags bla-ma, who became the "Summit of Manliness" (Pho-za'i rtse-mo), in addition to that of the Doctrine. He (Zur-čhen Śākya 'byuṅ-gnas) preached extensively to a large crowd of disciples, such as the eight "Crowns of the Summit" (rtse-lkog brgyad): Lo-rog, Lo-thuṅ Śāk-rgyal, lTa-rog, rTsags bla-ma, Sum-pa dBaṅ-tshul, 'Ol-sgom, Sum-pa bLo-rgya, Čhags-ston nam-mkha' and others He built the vihāra of 'Ug-pa luṅ. At the meditative cell (sgrub-khaṅ) of Sram-pa of Lower Śaṅs, he erected the images of the nine gods of dPal-čhen-po (Čhe-mčhog Heruka and the eight deities symbolizing the eight Tantras, or bKa'-brgyad). While travelling up-country from that place, he captured a nāga who was dwelling in the rock of 'Og-gdoṅ, and placed it in a jar. He closed the jar with a piece of skin, and having sealed it, kept it. The nāga gathered wine from all quarters, and acted as his attendant. During the building and consecration (of the vihāra), wine was served to all from one single jar, without exhausting the supply. At the time of the consecration ceremony, he having loaned much cattle from the villagers, killed them, and held a great feast of consecration (śa-ston, a feast during which meat is served). At the

end of the day he was able to return all the cattle, (that had been killed), to the villagers. Intending to perform a similar miracle on the southern bank of the gTsaṅ-po, he proceeded there, having taken with himself the wine jar. On the way, his attendant thinking: "What is there in this (jar)", opened the jar's lid, and a white snake came out, and escaped. After that he was unable to erect the image. When he was practising meditation at rGya-pa of Thag, the great teacher 'Brog-mi wrote to him, saying: "Because I do not have enough gold to present to the paṇḍita (Gayadhara), bring a large quantity of gold! (he had promised 500 golden sraṅs to Gayadhara in return for instruction in the Lam-'bras doctrine). I shall bestow on you the hidden precepts." When he decided to go there, his retinue tried to dissuade him, but he replied: "The very word of the teacher is a gift! Let us go!" In a ravine, situated not far from that place, he asked a demon for gold. The deity of the locality (gži-bdag) (5b)
said: "Take out gold, as long as there does not appear an ingot of gold in the shape of an animal!" After they had taken out much gold from a hole, there appeared a golden ingot of the shape of a frog, and he then discontinued (the digging). Then having gone to Myu-gu-luṅ, he presented the translator ('Brog-mi) with a hundred golden sraṅs. He pleased the teacher by his humble conduct, such as carrying above his mantle a load of thorny creepers in the autumn. The teacher bestowed on him numerous precepts. When the fortune of lha-rJe 'Ug-pa luṅ-pa (Zur-čhen) had increased, Ma-ma gYuṅ-druṅ bkra-śis and her husband wished to hold a religious assembly at Ña-ri, and invited all the villagers and relatives. When they asked: "Who will be suitable as ācārya (to preside over the assembly)?", some said that a Tantric was best, and that a Tantric should be invited. Some said that a monk should be asked. Again some said that a Bon-po should be invited. Because they could not agree, they said to Ma-ma gYuṅ-druṅ bkra-śis: "We are unable to agree, you should make the choice." The woman said:

"Well, my means being sufficient, let us invite all the three!" Three respectable priests were accordingly invited. 'Ug-pa luṅ-pa was invited as the Tantric. Ke-rtse-ba as the Bon-po priest, and Chu-mig Riṅ-mo-ba as the monk. The three priests said: "We must build a temple!" Then the three having gathered, held a consultation about the erection of the temple, but could not reach an agreement on the chief deity (to be placed in the temple). The Tantric said that (the temple) should be consecrated to the name of Vajrasattva. The monk said that (the temple) should be dedicated to Śākyamuni. The Bon-po priest said that it should be dedicated to gŚen-rab mi-bo. So they built separate temples. Lha-rJe 'Ug-pa luṅ-pa laid the foundation (of the temple) at a place situated below sGro-phug, and built the temple jointly with the Bon-po priest. The Bon-po priest said: "When I shall erect the image, will your god be the principal deity, and mine his retinue, or will my god be the principal deity, and yours his retinue?" Because neither of the two propositions were acceptable to 'Ug-pa luṅ-pa, he gave the temple to the Bon-po priest. sGro-ston presented him sGro-phug, and a temple was then erected at sGro-phug. Then the alms-giver gÑan-sde-gsum said: "Whoever will place the roof on the temple, should pay the expenses." The Tantric and the Bon-po priest built the roof, but the monk did not. Since the Tantric and the Bon-po priest have been collecting offerings each year, the monk said: "Though we did fail in the building of the roof, let us collect money also." Having paid (the expenses) for one year, they went to collect money in turns. It is also said that they protected annually the country-side from hail turn by turn. When the temple of sGro-phug was about to be completed, it was entrusted to rGya-bo-pa. 'Ug-pa luṅ-pa passed away at the age of sixty-one. The Sugata (bDe-gśegs) rGya-bo-pa, who became the highest among the "Four Summits of the People": There was an elderly beggar monk called Zur-sgom, a son of one named the grand-father A-tsara, who went on a begging round. Lha-rJe rGya-bo-pa was (6a)

a young novice who followed after his father. When they came to 'Ug-pa-luṅ, Lha-rje Zur-po-čhe said: "What is your family name?" "It is Zur"—replied the father. "Well, you should leave this young novice with me. I can foster him! If you find something resembling a garment, fetch it!" The father was pleased, and said: "Well, we shall do accordingly!" The boy was left with Lha-rje who brought him up. He received the name of Śes-rab grags-pa, and was also called by the nickname of Zur-čhuṅ. Later he became known as Zur-čhuṅ Śes-rab grags-pa. Because he practised meditation on the summit of rGya-bo-dgu-'dus, he became known as the Sugata rGya-bo-pa. 'Ug-pa luṅ-pa having thus brought up the young novice, his knowledge became very great. He introduced him to his studies, but though he was known to be learned in the Doctrine, he was unable to obtain Tantric initiation because of want of means, and did not copy books. Now Lha-rje 'Ug-pa luṅ-pa had at Khaṅ-sṅon of Ban a rich lady-supporter called Jo-mo gYu-ma, who followed meditative practices, also her daughter. Lha-rje said (to Śes-rab grags-pa). "Marry this mother and daughter!"—"I shall not keep a family!" replied Śes-rab grags-pa. "Do not be narrow-minded! You have no means, but having become master of (6b) their property, you can obtain Tantric initiations, copy books and complete your studies of the doctrines. It will help these two to acquire merit, and your purpose will be achieved. Is it not better?" said the Teacher. He followed his Teacher's advice, and all his aspirations were achieved. The Teacher then said to him: "Now, you should not remain there. Bring gradually your belongings here, including books, etc., and come here!" The disciple inquired: "But will this do? These two were very kind to me." "Do not be narrow-minded! You will become a person able to benefit living beings. In these difficult times you should labour for the welfare of all living beings through propagating the Doctrine of the Sugata, and this will be a proper reward for their kindness. If you continue to look after these two

only, you will be unable to achieve your own purpose, and the welfare of others." He followed his Teacher's advice. He was able to obtain without effort on his part whatever he desired, as for example, tormented by heat amidst the sands of a desert valley, he felt thirst, and wine was offered to him, or when climbing to the summit of a desert mountain, he felt hungry, and food was offered to him, etc. Then he thought: "Now, I shall be successful, if I labour for the welfare of living beings." The Teacher said (to him): "Now you should preach (the Doctrine)!" He then preached the mDo dGoṅs 'dus, and on one occasion three hundred students possessing text-books (dpe-'grems) gathered round him. When a novice, he used to circumambulate a stūpa, stituated at the door of 'Ug-luṅ-pa's dwelling. Lha-rJe saw him circumambulating the stūpa at the height of about one cubit, without touching the ground with his feet, and thought: "Well, this must be an incarnation, who will become an exceptional man," and was very pleased. Again when Lha-rJe-ba was observing the annual practice of Yaṅ-dag at the hermitage of Sram-pa of Śaṅs, Lha-rJe said to him: "You, the 'Four Summits of the People', should hold a contest in meditation." All (the four) composed their minds for meditation, and the mind (7a) concentration of the four became immovable and unshaken like a mountain. It is said that Zur-čhuṅ-ba was able to raise himself in the air to the height of about one ta-la (height of a palm tree). The Teacher then said to (his) maid-servant: "Listen to the amplitude of the sound produced by Zur-čhuṅ reciting the Ru-lu (n. of a mantra of Che-mčhog)." The maid replied: "When I was coming out of the hermitage, I listened, and the sound did not grow weaker. When I was passing the edge of the hill, I listened again, and (the sound) did not grow dimmer." Then Lha-rJe said: "Though you are equal as brothers, you should not walk over Zur-čhuṅ's shadow!" In general this Sugata had properly grasped the mind of Lha-rJe 'Ug-luṅ-pa, and possessed all-wisdom in the manner of a vase filled to the

brim. He also possessed an extraordinary mental courage in matters concerning the Doctrine. Further when he was teaching in the temple of gYas-ru khaṅ-khri, he entrusted the monks to three useless men, saying: "You keep up the study of the Doctrine! I shall go to carry on meditative practices." He went to the rock of rGya-bo. This rock of rGya-bo was similar in shape to the Blessed dPal-čhen-po (čhe-mčhog Heruka) surrounded by eight gaurī-mas (from Skrt. gaurī, maid, virgin). He said: "If one were to practise meditation here, great would be the blessing, and spiritual realization would grow nearer." The rock became known as rGya-dga-'dus (the Assembly of Nine rocks of rGya-bo). Having come there, he practised meditation, and at the beginning a great exhibition of magic power by demons took place. All quarters of the earth were filled with scorpions, and one of them was of the size of a kid. One night he saw in his dream a giant black man on the summit of the rock of rGya-bo, who seized Lha-rje by his legs, turned them upwards, and then flung him towards the centre of a large plain in the lower part of Thag. On awakening from this dream, it is said that he found himself lying in the centre of that plain. Again he climbed the rock, and settled on it, without paying any attention to all similar supernatural phenomena, and meditated. At first he meditated and practised at rDo-rje sems-dpa'i khaṅ-bu (the Hut of Vajrasattva) the Sādhana of Vajrasttva called the "Method of Dhyāna and Mudrā which originated from the systems of gSaṅ-ba and Māyā" (gSaṅ-ba sGyu-'phrul-las byuṅ-ba'i phyag-rgya bsam-gtan-gyi sgrub-pa). He had a (7b)
vision of Vajrasattva, and the valley of Thag was filled by Vajrasattva. Having obtained the vision of kṛtsnāyatana (snaṅ-bzaṅ-bar-gyi skye-mčhed, the vision of all external objects, as possessing one form only, such as fire, water, etc.), he understood clearly all his visions to be of the nature of Vajrasattva. This was the sign of the increase of the force of proper discrimination. "Nothing is definite"—he thought.

He then stayed in his meditative cell, plunged into the sphere of effortless "Great Achievement" (rdzogs-pa čhen-po rtsol-bral-gyi ṅaṅ), and experienced the meditative state characterized by an impartial idea of the "Great Achievement" (rdzogs-pa čhen-po). He was able to pass without impediment through all kinds of rocks, stones and soils. At that time a kalyāṇa-mitra learned in the Sūtras, and named sBa-dge-mthoṅ arrived in Thag (to attend) a religious assembly. One of his monks, a learned man, started a debate with Lha-rje. The monk having put forward "in front there is a column" as the minor term (dharmin, čhos-čan), and added "the column is the minor term." Lha-rje replied: "Ka-pa čhos-čan, Ka-pa čhos-čan! you (column), confronted with the mistaken notion of the independent existence of the World, appear to possess an independent existence! According to the impartial conception of the "Great Achievement" (rdzogs-pa čhen-po), a column does not exist!", saying so, he is said to have passed his hand without hindrance (through the column, in order to demonstrate the absence of a column). The monk expressed great wonder and was filled with faith, remaining speechless. He became a disciple of Lha-rje, and was said to have been called Ma-thog Byaṅ-'bar. In this manner he spent thirteen full years, and several months short of fourteen years on the rock of rGya-bo. It is said that there had been two reasons for his leaving the monastery. The first: the three "Useless Men" while searching for the rear, lost the front. For 'Go-bya-tsha had said: "While practising the upāya-mārga, according to the gSaṅ-ba sñiṅ-po, one should have as one's rear the Tantras of the "Mother" Class (Ma-rgyud)." He went to the residence of 'Gos Khug-pa Lhas-btsas to listen to the exposition of the Hevajra (Cycle). On the way he met two monks who said to him: "Venerable monk! There are enemies on the road!" He replied: "On the path of differentiation between the subjective and the objective, the brigands of Moral Defilement are indeed numerous. They have

imprisoned the child of the Śravakas." The two monks then said: "You monk seem to be proud and boasting!" Again he replied: "From the summit of the Kingly Vehicle, the boulder of the Kingly Theory will roll down. It will (8a)
destroy the city of Śravakas!" When he came to 'Gos' school, there was a man in the school named rMa-ra Jo-sras rMa-bya, who was greatly honoured by others, and full of pride. He expected that 'Go-bya-tsha would honour him, but the latter when saluting him, looked sideways. Gos remarked: "Kalyāṇa-mitra Go-bya-tsha! You should listen devotedly to the Doctrine, and salute (the Teacher) in a humble way!" In reply the latter said: "Your subordinate rMa-ra Jo-sras rMa-bya-ba is divested of his trousers, but wears a belt. He does not let (anyone) sit above, and I do not like to remain below. I am listening with devotion to the Doctrine. Pray forgive my saluting carelessly." Meg-čhuṅ dBaṅ-seṅ, one of the "Useless Monks", said: "When one removes a maṇḍala in this Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) doctrine, one requires a yoga in support." He accordingly went to Sum-pa Ye-'bar to listen (to instruction) in the yoga. 'Go-čhun dBaṅ-ṅe said: "When studying the theory of the basis and the Path in this Māyā doctrine, a proof (pramāṇa) is required in the rear." He accordingly proceeded to listen (to the exposition) of Logic as the residence of sPaṅ-ka Dar-čhuṅ. It is said that in this manner the three ("Useless Ones") were unable to protect the Doctrine. He (Zur-čhuṅ) had to come back to protect the monks. Because of this the three became "useless". One (of the reasons): Lha-rJe 'Ug-luṅ-pa died without completing the temple. He said (to Zur-čhuṅ): "You complete this work of mine (lit. the imprint of my hand)!" Having received his teacher's advice, he returned. He had many disciples, such as the "Four Columns" (Ka-ba bži), the "Eight Beams" (gDuṅ-brgyad), the "Sixteen Rafts" (Phyam bču-drug), the "Thirty two planks" (dral-ma sum-bču-rtsa-gñis), the "Two Ascetics" (sGom-čhen mi-gñis), one "Boas-

ter" (yus-po-čhe mi-gčig), the two "Simple Ones" (dkyus-pa mi-gñis), the two "Honourables" (sta-gur mi-gñis), and the "Three Useless Ones" (go-ma-čhod mi gsum). The "Four Columns" (Ka-ba bži-po): At first, an alms-giver having invited to Myaṅ-ro the kalyāṇa-mitra Khyuṅ-po, a monk of the kalyāṇa-mitra Khyuṅ-po grags-se, who was very learned in the Sūtras, and Lha-rje čhen-po held a religious assembly (in the locality), and at the time of the assembly, (8b) the kalyāṇa-mitra Khyuṅ said, "Let this heretic Zur-čhuṅ Śes-rab-grags be defeated!" Having deputed the four, the four went into the presence of Lha-rje. At first sKyo-ston Śāk-yes inquired: "Lha-rje čhen-po-lags! Do you hold in high esteem the method of meditation of the school of the "Great Achievement" (rdzogs-pa čhen-po) only?" The latter replied. "Is my mind attached to any particular object?"-"Are you not concentrating your mind on the "Great Achievement"? Lha-rje čhen-po said: "Why should I be disturbed?" The interrogator feeling powerless, remained speechless. After that gLan-ston Śāk-bzaṅs inquired: "Are you not maintaining that all visual objects exist as the sphere (maṇḍala) of gods and goddesses, as stated in the system of gSaṅ-ba sGyu-'phrul?" Lha-rje then replied: "Who will deny the validity of the proof of direct sense-perception of the visual objects as independent material bodies?"—"Well then, are you not maintaining this?"—"Who will be able to contradict it, as it had been deducted from many teachings, the Sūtras and Tantras, in order to remove the wrong illusion characteristic of the living beings regarding the independent existence of visual object?" Again this remained without answer. In this manner the four put questions (to him) in turn, but he answered them by remaining silent. Then they said: "Nowhere did we find such a kalyāṇa-mitra possessed of the incontrovertible understanding of the doctrine of the Mahāyāna, endowed with the understanding of emancipation and science! If we suddenly become his followers, our own teacher will be displeased." Therefore they made a

solemn promise that next year they were to leave their teacher and honour Zur-čhuṅ-ba. Next year they came to Lha-rje (Zur-čhuṅ), and these became the "Four pillars". When they returned, and presented themselves before their former teacher, the latter asked them: "Did you defeat Zur-čhuṅ-ba?"—"He could not be defeated", replied they, and the teacher became displeased, and covered by the darkness of jealousy, said to them: "Zur-čhuṅ Śes-rab grags-pa, a man of such wrong views, as he, and a leader leading all beings on the wrong paths, if he were destroyed, the murderer (9a) would doubtlessly attain Buddhahood! Therefore (the Buddha) had permitted even objectionable acts, if they were useful." These words were overheard by some students of Lha-rje, who reported them, saying: "the kalyāṇa-mitra Khyuṅ-po has said this and that." (Lha-rje) remained silent, but next morning, when he was sitting on the chair, and was about to preach, he began laughing. "With what are you amused?" they inquired, and he replied: "The so-called religion is indeed found in this Mahāyāna Tantra of mine! (Tantric texts teach that an act, even objectionable, if directed towards a good purpose, may be approved in certain circumstances). I was of the opinion that the belief that one might attain Buddhahood through murder, belonged to the system of Tantra only, and not to that of the Sūtras, but such a great scholar, as Khyuṅ-po grags-se has now said that by killing Zur-čhuṅ-ba one might attain Buddhahood, therefore in the depth of his mind he has followed my doctrine, and therefore I became pleased!" Further, the "Pillar of the Mental Class" (Sems-phyogs): sKyo-ston Śāk-yes of Guṅ-bu. The "Pillar of the mDo": Yaṅ-kheṅ bla-ma of sKyeṅ-luṅs. The "Pillar of the (system) of Māyā": gLan Śākya bzaṅ-po of Chu-bar. The "Pillar of Magic" (phrin-sgrub): mÑa'-ti Jo-śāk of Nag-mo-ri. The above and Ma-thog Byaṅ-'bar are known as the "Five Descendants" (brgyud-pa lṅa). The "Eight Beams": Ma-thog-pa, sKya-ston Chos-seṅ, gLan Śākya byaṅ-čhub, rTsags Śāk-rins, sNubs sTon-bag-ma, dbUs-

pa Sa-'thor, Su-ston Zla-grags, rTse-phrom Byaṅ-dpal. Again some included among them: A-la gZi-čhen, Nal-rba sñiṅ-po and Ram-ston rgyal-ba. The "Two Ascetics" (sgom-čhen mi-gñis): 'Ba-sgom Dig-ma and Bon-sgom Do-pa. The "Boasting One" (yus-po-čhe): Zi-ston bSod-rgyal of Las-stod. The "Two Honourables" (sta-gur mi-gñis): Zaṅ-ston sṅags-se and Khyuṅ-po rTa-čhuṅ grags-se. The name of those known as the "Rafts" (phyam), the "Planks" (dral-ma) and the "Simple Ones" (dkyus-pa) are not mentioned. In this manner while Lha-rJe rGya-bo-pa was increasing his fortune, and there was no one among the assemblies of Tibetan Tantrics, who took his seat above him, or did not salute him, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba said to the followers of the "New" Tantras (gSar-ma): "We have no cause to honour him, and no reason to sit below him. We must observe this rule." In this manner he established a new rule. Once a large festival was held at Śaṅs, and many Tantrics assembled there. 'Gos lo-tsā-ba also came there, and saluted Zur-čhuṅ-ba who was sitting at the head of the row. Then all present also saluted him. After the end of the festival all inquired: "You had laid the rule of not saluting (Zur-čhuṅ-ba). How is it, that now you, yourself, honour him?" Said 'Gos: "When I met him, I thought that this must be the Blessed dPal-čhen-po (Vajrakīla) himself, and it did not occur to me that this was a human being." Further, when Lha-rJe Yaṅ-khye was a student, he possessed a very small income and was in need. Once Lha-rJe čhen-po came to his cell, and brought with him a brass cup which could contain about nine handfuls (phul), and asked Yaṅ-khye: "I am thirsty, have you anything to drink?" "I have some food and drink" replied Yaṅ-khye. "Well, bring it!" said Lha-rJe čhen-po. Yaṅ-khye then offered him some food and drink which he had stored away after a Bon-po festival. Lha-rJe čhen-po drank two cups, and asked: "Can I have some more?", and drank another cup. Yaṅ-khye then asked him what to offer more and Lha-rJe čhen-po said: "If there is any, bring

(9b)

some wine!" Yaṅ-khye offered him a cup and Lha-rJe čhen-po again asked: "Can I have some more?" Yaṅ-khye then replied: "I still have about one full measure." "Well, said Lha-rJe čhen-po, I could not finish it. If I were able to consume it all, then your fortune would not be able to accommodate itself in the whole of this Tibet. Anyhow a great fortune is coming to you!" Having given him three loads of barley, Lha-rJe čhen-po said: "Till that time subsist on this. Then aid will come to you." It was said that after he had consumed this barley, his fortune increased. This Lha-rJe Sugata rGya-bo-pa had three sons and daughters, all endowed with many accomplishments. Once a son and a daughter were born to his former consort the princess (btsad-mo) Dharmabodhi: Jo-btsun rDo-rJe-'bar and Jo-sras-ma Śākya lčam-mo. The mother of the Venerable sGro-phug-pa čhen-po—Jo-sras-ma mÑa'-mo gtsug-tor-lčam, was the sister of mÑa'-tig Jo-śāk. Before he took her as his consort, she was studying religion at a monastery. When she became (his) wife, all the monks became somewhat displeased (at her conduct), and intended to expel her (from the monastery), but (104)
sKya-ston Śāk-yes said: "I had a dream that on her ring-finger there was an image of the Master of the Doctrine, and that should she bear a son, benefit will come to us! So keep her!" And so they kept her without expelling her (from the monastery). Lha-rJe čhen-po sGro-phug-pa was born in the year Wood-Male-Tiger (śiṅ-pho-stag—1074 A.D.). His father said: "The omens contained in the dream seen by sKyo-ston Śāk-yes are auspicious! My son will be of great benefit to all living beings, as a Master of the Doctrine. We shall give him the name of Śākya seṅ-ge!" And the mother added: "His eyes are bright! They seem very clever, and similar to those of a Hor-pa. Let us call him Hor-po." Thus he became known as Zur Śākya seṅ-ge, as well as mÑa'-tsha Hor-po (Hor-po, nephew of the mÑa' family). When he was born, his father renounced all worldly possessions, and when they had nothing left, his

mother said: "You knew a day before that the boy will be born. You have not kept even a little butter with which to moisten the child's palate, and I have nothing to give him." The father replied: "If he has fortune, it will come even without my keeping it. If he has no fortune, had I even kept (a little butter) it would not help him," and saying so the father sat on the roof of the house. Then a nun (came) and offered them a hundred dunkey loads of barley and a hundred measures of butter. Ru said: "Butter to moisten the palate has come!" They rejoiced and exclaimed: "He has fortune! He will be of benefit to living beings!" He (Śākya seṅ-ge) had a son J̌o-btsun rDo-rJe grags and a daughter rDo-rJe lčam-mo. J̌o-btsun rDo-rJe grags-pa had five sons. rNal-'byor rGyal-tshad, Čaṅ-ṅe, 'Khyam-ma and Brag-ge. Lha-rJe rNal-'byor had two sons: Thegs-tsha and sTod-tsha. rGyal-tshab's son was J̌o-btsun Kun-dga' sñiṅ-po. Čaṅ-ṅe's son was rGyal-tsha. J̌o-btsun rDo-rJe-'bar's son was ḅTsad-tsha Śāk-rdor. The latter's son was Thag-pa lhun-po. The latter's son was Lha-rJe bLa-ma. Further, at the beginning of the period of the later spread of (10*b*)
the Doctrine, the mahā-purusa, the lo-tsā-ba Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po was born. When he was fifty-seven, in the year Wood-Male-Tiger (śiṅ-pho-stag—1014 A.D.) Zur-čhuṅ-ba was born. Zur-čhuṅ-ba was born in the third year after the birth of the Venerable Mar-pa in the year Water-Male-Mouse (čhu-pho-byi-ba—1012A.D.). The Fire-Female-Hare year (me-mo-yos—1027 A.D.), which is the first of the current years ('das-lo), is the 16th year of Mar-pa, and the 12th year of Zur-čhuṅ-ba. When Zur-čhuṅ-ba reached the age of twenty-nine, Mar-pa was in his thirty-first year. In the eighty-fifth year of the lo-tsā-ba Riṅ-chen bzaṅ-po, in the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1042 A.D.), Atīśa arrived in mṄa'-ris. Thus Zur-čhuṅ-ba is moreover a contemporary of 'Gos Khug-pa Lhas-btsas. 'Khon dKon-mčhog rgyal-po was born in the Wood-Male-Dog year (śiṅ-pho-khyi—1034 A.D.), when Zur-čhuṅ-ba was twenty

one. Zur-čhuṅ-ba died from small-pox in the year Wood-Male-Tiger (śiṅ-pho-stag—1074 A.D.) at the age of sixty-one, 16 years having passed since the birth of the lo-tsā-ba bLo-ldan śes-rab (born in 1059 A.D.). In the thirteenth year after the birth of Ma-gčig Ża-ma, So-čhuṅ-ba and sKor Ni-rū-pa, in the Water-Male-Tiger year (čhu-pho-stag, this is evidently a mistake for śiṅ-pho-stag, Wood-Male-Tiger—1074 A.D.), Zur-čhuṅ-ba died, and sGro-sbug-pa was born. Now Lha-rJe sGro-sbug-pa, the Great: In his childhood he was brought up by his mother and uncle, and spent fifteen years at mṄa'-phu. Then he went to Chu-bar, the residence of gLan. Later he visited Yaṅ-khyed at sKeṅ-luṅs, and for three years heard (the exposition) of the Doctrine. At the age of nineteen, the ceremony of his installation (čhe-'don—coming of age ceremony) was performed, and his fortune became great. But he did not have time to continue his studies. In search for an occasion (to continue his studies), he proceeded for one year to sKyo at Goṅ-bu. His fortune increased, but he did not get the chance to visit other places. He invited to his house learned teachers, supported them, and thus completed his studies. Under the "Four Pillars" he studied the Tantras, such as the mDo, the Māyā Cycle, and the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs), together with their precepts, methods and ritual (phyag-bżes), and obtained complete initiation. He also studied the system of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen) according to the method of sKor with gLan Śākya byaṅ-čhub. With Lha-rJe Śaṅs-pa Nag-po he studied the Tantra and the precepts of the "Later" Lineage of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen). In this manner, having studied under many scholars, he, with the help of his (11a)
studies and reflection on them removed his doubts. In general Lha-rJe sGro-sbug-pa was said to be a manifestation of the guhyapati Vajrapāṇi.[1] He had come to this northern region

1 The chief divinity of the Tantras. He is called Guhyapati, because he is considered to be the Keeper of all the Tantras.

in order to spread the doctrine of Tantra, and revolved the Wheel of the Law to numerous assemblies of disciples. He had about a thousand disciples, who were kalyāṇa-mitras maintaining philosophical schools, parasol-holders and guardians of the Doctrine. They also greatly propagated the doctrine of Tantra, and became famous like the Sun and Moon. Among them, his beloved disciples were twelve in number, four by three. The four Me. 'Bon-ston lČags-skyu, Śab-rtsa gser-ba, Bya-ston rDo-rJe-grags and gYu-ston. The four Nag: lCe-ston rGya-nag, Zur-nag 'khor-lo, Myuṅ-nag mDo-po, and mÑa'-nag gTsug-gtor dbaṅ-phyug. The four sTon rGya-ston, gYabs-ston, Ñe-ston and Žan-ston. On one occasion, Lha-rJe said to the four "sTon": "You should bring all the requisites for a gaṇacakra ceremony. I too shall bring some." The four "sTon" on receipt of the Teacher's order, proceeded there bringing requisites with themselves. The Teacher himself also went. They then proceeded to the summit of a hill situated at the back of sGro-sbug, where they performed a gaṇacakra ceremony, and conversed with each other. Lha-rJe said: "In my absence do not feel sad! I shall pass into the abode of vidyādharas, without giving up my physical body, and this will make you, my successors, fortunate, and will cause the spread of your Lineage and the Doctrine," saying so, he sang a song, and then raising himself into the air, he moved about. Then again he sang a song, and again raised himself into the air, and moved (in the air). Thus after each song, he raised himself into the air, and at last disappeared in the sky, proceeding upwards. They could not stand it any longer, wept, uttering loud cries, and swinging their bodies called him by his name. Again he came back and said to them: "You are weak! You shouldn't do so! Previously, when I had given my will, you did not listen. Now some evil omens will befall my (spiritual) (11*b*) descendants." Next year he showed signs of passing away. He died in his sixty-first year, in the year Wood-Male-Tiger (śiṅ-pho-stag—1134 A.D.). At the time of the performance

of the funeral rites, a young exorcist, beautifully attired, offered a good light-bay horse with a good saddle, studded with cowries. No one knew the offerer—whence he had come, and where he went, or what sort of a man he was. It was said that the funeral offering must have been made by a god. Funeral offerings were further made by demons, spirits and nāgas. There is also a story of the appearance (during the rites) of four kinds of jewels, unknown among men. When sGro-phug-pa was nineteen, in the year Water-Monkey. (čhu-spre—1092 A.D.), the Sa-čhen Kun-sñiṅ (Kun-dga' sñiṅ-po) was born. According to another account. The nun sGre-mo of Roṅ čhu-tshan was a disciple of Vimala. Her disciple was Mar-pa Śes-rab-'od of Lho-brag Bya-se. His disciple Laṅ-ston Dar-ma bsod-nams of Śaṅs-lha-phu. His disciple was one called Lha-rJe Hor-po of Ña-ra. Among the four "Black Spiritual disciples" of Lha-rJe sGro-sbug-pa, the Great, the most excellent was Lha-rJe lČe-ston rGya-nag. His grandfather, called 'Phaṅs Byaṅ-brtson, proceeded to Khams, and then returned. He built the vihāra of sKyi-mkhar after the model of the vihāra of gLoṅ-thaṅ sgron-me. Rgyal-gsum, son of A-mi Śer-brtson, one of his three brothers, had four sons and five daughters, nine in all. The four sons were: Rin-čhen, Ñi-po, rGyal-bzaṅs, and rGya-nag. Rin-čhen and Ñi-po were sent to study at a philosophical college in Upper Myaṅ. Lha-rJe rGya-nag used to bring them provisions, and while doing so listened incidentally (to the exposition of the Doctrine) and became learned. He then asked his elder brothers about it, but they did not understand it, though they had attended (classes) for three years. "How could it happen, that after listening once to the exposition, I could understand it?" inquired Lha-rJe rGya-nag. They replied: "We did not get it! You had better bring the (required) remuneration and study. Instead, we shall bring you the provisions, for it does not matter, whether you or we study the Doctrine." So Lha-rJe rGya-nag remained (at the college), and from the age of twenty-one, listened to the exposition

of the Doctrine, and at first attended classes in philosophy. (124)
At that time, Śe and Khyuṅ, 'Phan and 'Bre, rGya and sTag were famous scholars. He heard the Prajñāpāramitā under Khyuṅ-po Grags-se, and the Abhidharma under 'Ban, the All-knowing. The Nyāya and the Mādhyamika systems under 'Gar bSod-yes (bSod-nams ye-śes). In this manner he studied philosophy for nine years. After that he studied the Tantras with Lha-rJe sGro-sbug-pa, the Great, and remained with him for eleven years. For three years the latter did not talk to him in a friendly manner, except for calling him by the name of Jo-sras Myaṅ-stod-pa (Son of a Priest from Upper Myaṅ). Once when rGya brTson-seṅ accompanied by servants was attending a religious assembly at which Lha-rJe was present, rGya brTson-seṅ and his servants inaugurated a debate, and Lha-rJe rGya-nag defeated them. Having checked their pride, (Lha-rJe) became pleased, and showed great kindness to him. The son Jo-btsun rDo-rJe-grags having developed intellectually, he became very pleased. In return for his kindness, he bestowed on him all the precepts, and the basic texts of the three classes of the utpannakrama and sampannakrama degrees (bskyed-rdzogs), and in particular he bestowed on him the secret precepts and detailed notes on their branches, even those which were unfamiliar to himself.

The story that Lha-rJe Lha-khaṅ-pa possessed more profound and complete precepts than those possessed by the other followers of Zur, was based on the above statement, so he revealed. In this manner he studied for twenty years. On reaching the age of forty, he became a monk. At that time sTon-Śāk, a native of dbUs, Žig-po, a native of dbUs, and about thirty other students of sGro-sbug-pa attended on him. He heard moreover the bDud-rtsi (it is not clear which Amṛta Tantra is meant here, the Vajrāmṛta-Tantra, Kg. rGyud, No. 435, or the Tantra contained in vol. VII/Ja/ of the rGyud-'bum. See dKar-čhag. fol. 230b) from rGya rTsad-skor-ba of Upper Myaṅ. He also listened to the

exposition of the method of the Vajravidāraṇānāma-dhāraṇī (Kg. rGyud, No. 750), and the Phur-pa rtsa-ba (vol. VII/Ja/ of the rGyud-'bum, dKar-čhag, fol. 236a) without the Commentary of sGro-Dar-seṅ of Lower Myaṅ. Further, he heard the (Vajra)kīla Cycle according to the systems of sKyi and others. From Dam-pa sBor-maṅ he heard the system of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-pa čhen-po) according (to the interpretation) of sBor. From Jo-mo Myaṅ-mo he (12b)
obtained an introduction into the system of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen), as taught in Khams, which was the essence of the heart of the ācārya A-ro. From her also he heard precepts of the system. He also heard from others the "Brāhma" Class of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen bram-ze'i skor), the system of sKe-tshaṅ-ma and other systems. He also mastered all the texts and Sādhanas of the Mantrayāna, the Abhidharma and the Tantras, together with their precepts. When he was performing the rites according to the bDud-rtsi, a goddess of medicine appeared from her Palace of Medicine and three times circumambulated the maṇḍala. After that all saw her merging into the palace. From the age of forty till the age of sixty-six, he laboured for the welfare of others and passed away. Summary: he was born in the year Wood-Male-Dog (śiṅ-pho-khyi—1094 A.D.). From the age of twenty-one till thirty, he studied much under Śe'u-ba, Khyuṅ and others. After that he continued his studies under sGre-sbug-pa. When he was forty-one, in the year Wood-Tiger (śiṅ-stag—1134 A.D.) sGro-sbug-pa passed away. From that year he continued his labours for the welfare of living beings. At the age of fifty-six, in the year Earth-Serpent (sa-sbrul—1149 A.D.) he passed away. His nephew lČe-ston Jo-gzuṅs was a son of Ñi-po. Besides him Ñi-po had two sons: the ācārya Ñe-ne and Khaṅ-gsar. dPon-nag rDo-rje had five sons: rDo-rje 'bum, Ñi-khri 'bum, bDud-rtsi 'bum, bKra-śis 'bum and Dar-ma 'bum. bLa-ma čhen-po (the great teacher) Yon-tan-gzuṅs was born in the year Fire-Male-Horse (me-pho-rta

—1126 A.D.). He began his studies at the age of eleven. For thirteen years he was befriended by his uncle and studied thoroughly the Tantras, precepts and instructions in the Tantras of the three classes of the utpannakrama and sampannakrama degrees (bskyed-rdzogs). When he reached the age of twenty-four, his uncle rGya-nag-pa having died, he was nominated abbot. Slight doubts which remained (in his mind) were all removed after his studies under (his uncle's) disciples sTon-Śāk of dbUs, Zig-po of dbUs and others.

Now sTon-Śāk of dbUs: he belonged to the family of gČer-ba Wań-thuń, a householder of gZad. Having gone to learn the alphabet at the school of Lha-rJe N̄a-ri-ba, he obtained faith (in the Doctrine) and pursued his studies. (13a)
Then, as stated above, he visited Lha-rJe rGya-nag-pa. He studied thoroughly all Tantras and precepts, and intended to practise meditation. He accordingly went in search of an hermitage in the Northern Mountains (Byan-ri). Dam-pa Yo-čhuń-ba was said to be engaged in cutting rocks at Yol-pa brag. sTon-Śāk asked him: "Will you build a hermitage here?" "Yes," replied the latter. He further inquired: "Besides this place, is there another place (suitable) for building?" "If one were to establish (a hermitage) on the rock overgrown with thorny rose bushes over there, it would do, but I have found that this (place) is more inaccessible than the other place, and so shall build (my hermitage) here. Besides these, there is no other place," said again Yol-čhuń-ba. Then Dam-pa sTon-Śāk proceeded to the rock overgrown with thorny wild rose shrubs, and heard a voice saying: "Is there a piece of bread to be found on the bank of its spring?" Again he heard (the voice saying): "Are there not five lumps of food (zan-rtog)?" He understood these words to be auspicious omens, and took up his residence there, practised meditation and his mind found its goal (in Tibet, people looking for a place to build a house, always pay attention to the talk of local people). He held in restraint gods and demons, developed the faculty of teaching to

numerous disciples, and became known as Dam-pa Se-brag-pa.

Žig-po of dbUs: he has been a householder of Yar-kluṅs Bya-sa. While he was working as a clerk at the school of rJe-btsun sGro-sbug-pa, he became converted to religion. After that, he visited Lha-rJe rGya-nag-pa and studied under him the three stages of the utpannakrama and sampannakrama degrees (according to the rÑiṅ-ma-pas the utpannakrama degree consists of one stage; the sampannakrama has two · rdzogs-rim and rdzogs-čhen or mahā-santi—"The Great End" or "Great Achievement". This last term was the subject of a lively controversy in Tibet. According to some Tibetan scholars this term did not originate in India, but was invented by rÑiṅ-ma-pa adepts. bsKyed-rdzogs-rdzogs-čhen-gsum—the three stages of the utpannakrama and sampanna-krama degrees). He then thought of going to his native place to hold the ceremony of his coming of age. In order to collect the needed requisites, such as a parasol, conch and offering utensils, he journeyed to Nepāl. One night on the road a thought occurred to him—"though I possess a consider-able knowledge of the Doctrine, I possess no precepts to practise it. If I were to die now, I possess no effective method (of spiritual realization)." He then thought that it would be better for him to obtain precepts and thus retraced his steps. He came to his teacher, and made his request. The teacher bestowed on him the precepts of the Precious Oral Tradition (sÑan-brgyud), and he journeyed to Nepāl to practise them After reaching Guṅ-thaṅ in Maṅ-yul, he sat for seven days in meditation on the impartial "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen). Having collected the requisites for the offering, he left Nepāl, and on arrival at Guṅ-thaṅ in Maṅ-yul fell ill with fever. Having entrusted his belongings to the villagers, (13*b*) he proceeded towards the mountains and there practised meditation. Again an impartial concentration of mind was produced in him, and he developed the power of passing unhindered through soil, stones, mountains and rocks.

Everything seemed to him to be devoid of value. He left behind all the articles collected by him for the ceremony of his coming of age, and kept only seven altar cups for water. He recollected his teacher's grace and thought: "A thought such as this came to me through the grace of my teacher! I should present these (cups) to my teacher!" and he took them along. But the desire to leave even them behind came again to him while on the way, but he thought again about his teacher's grace, and continued the journey. On reaching the temple, he left (the cups) in the teacher's presence, with the words: "If you need them, you can keep them! O cups! For how long did you fetter me!" After that he pursued his studies in the mountain solitude and practised meditation. All of a sudden he understood the words of the doctrines of all the Vehicles, without leaving out even a single word. Further, he remained unhurt by (falling) boulders, and maintained the view that the absence and presence of a visual object were not to be differentiated. When he was residing at the Pa-gor cave of gYas-ru, lightning struck his hut, and appeared above his bed, but he and a boy, who had come that night, remained unhurt. When asked: "Was it lightning?" He replied: "It looks as if it was the so-called lightning?"—"Well", they said, "were you hurt?" "How can lightning possess an independent nature, when the presence and absence of a sound are not to be differentiated?" replied he. This great Master of Yoga was endowed with many similar great achievements. Having obtained instruction in the Doctrine from the best disciples of his uncle, he became able to maintain (his own) school. He continued his meditations, and while doing so, kept a school for eighteen years. He died at the age of seventy in the year Wood-Female-Hare (śiṅ-mo-yos—1195 A.D.). Among the disciples of the Great Soul (bdag-ñid čhen-po) there were many learned in the exposition of the Śāstras, such as Žig-po bDud-rtsi, sTon-po bLa-skyabs, dbUs-pa J̌o-bsod, sÑe-ston Ñi-ma rdo-rǰe and others. Further, Mes-ston mGon-po of

La-stod and dPyal Kun-dga' rdo-rje and others came to honour him and asked for instruction. The uncle and nephew: the first introduced the scholarly method, and the latter greatly fostered the religious work for the welfare of disciples. Since the birth of Zur čhuṅ-ba to the death of Yon-tan-gzuṅs in the year Wood-Hare (śiṅ-yos—1195 A.D.) 182 years have passed. The holy spiritual son of Lha-rje Lha-khaṅ-pa was the nirmāṇa-kāya (sprul-sku) Žig-po bDud-rtsi. Further, there was a kalyāṇa-mitra named Mes rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan, his son sTon-pa 'Khar-re and one named 'Khar-čhuṅ, learned in Yoga. Śu-ston Mon-sras, a son of 'Khar-čhuṅ, was learned in the "Outer" Tantras (Phyi-rgyud which includes the Kriyā-Tantra, Yoga-Tantra and Caryā-Tantra. The Anuttara-yoga Tantra is known as Naṅ-rgyud, or "Inner" Tantra). His son sTon-pa Lha-snaṅ was endowed with deeds, ability, magic power and blessing. He had two sons: Saṅs-rgyas Dags-čhuṅ and sGom-śu. Saṅs-rgyas Dags-čhun was the father of Žig-po bDud-rtsi. Because he followed on Dags-po rGya-ras, he became known as Dags-čhuṅ-pa (Dags-po, the Junior). He studied moreover with many teachers including Saṅs-rgyas ston, dKar-sgom Jo-nag, Myaṅ-ston rTsegs-se and others, and removed his doubts. He visited Lho-brag. When he was residing at the hermitage of Phur-moṅ-sgaṅ of Upper Lho, he laboured for the welfare of living beings. The alms-givers of gZad sent sGom-śu and invited him. He stayed there, and presented offerings to many hermitages, such as the monastery of Lha-gdoṅ of gZad, and the monastery of 'Ug-skaṅ and others. The number of his disciples increased. Žig-po was born at the hermitage of Lha-gdoṅ. In general, Saṅs-rgyas Dags-čhuṅ had four sons and daughters. The eldest Lho-tsha bLa-ma-skyabs, who was born in Lho-brag, felt disgusted with worldly life. Endowed with the faculty of prescience, he journeyed to Khams, and there passed away. His younger brother was bLa-ma rgyal-mtshan who led the life of a mad ascetic (Žig-po). The thought of the actionless Great Principle having arisen in him, he acquired wisdom and performed numerous virtuous deeds. (14b)

His mother was a native of sToṅ-ra of 'Brog. He had two sons: Saṅs-rgyas dbon-ston and the nirmāṇa-kāya (sprul-sku) Śer-'byuṅ. Saṅs-rgyas dbon-ston had one son from his first wife, and three sons from his second (wife), and one daughter, five in all. The son of the first wife was bDud-rtsi-dar and the sons of the second wife were dBaṅ-phyug-'bum, bDud-rtsi-dpal and Rin-čhen-mgon. The daughter was sTon-ma bDud-rtsi-'bum. The younger sister of bLa-ma rgyal-mtshan was J̌o-sras-ma rGya-ma-hor. Her son was mKhas-pa J̌o-nam. His son was Sum-ston Ñi-ma. The nirmāṇa-kāya (sprul-sku) Žig-po was born after J̌o-sras-ma rGya-ma. The bla-ma Dags-čhuṅ had married one called Wan-mo rGya-gar gsal, a descendant of Waṅ-thuṅ, the elder brother of gZad. J̌o-sras-ma rGya-ma was born to her. When she was eight months old, her mother died They invited Waṅ-mo, the younger sister of the mother, to act as nurse. She became his wife, and Žig-po was born to her. When the Precious One was in his mother's womb, the mother had frequent dreams about a white man holding over his head a white parasol with a golden handle When bLa-ma Žaṅ reached the age of 27, and Yon-tan-gzuṅs was twenty-four, in the year Earth-Female-Serpent (sa-mo-sbrul—1149 A.D.), Žig-po bDud-rtsi was born. After his birth, he was placed inside a basket, and a rainbow came down on him. When he was about two years old, his father said one night (to the mother): "O Waṅ čhuṅ-ma! Get up! I had a wonderful dream, and I must tell you about it." She inquired "What sort of dream was it?" The father said: "I saw myself going to a far distant country. While walking on a mountain slope, I saw a blue boulder on the trail. I was wearing a handsome new hat with a silk band of the colour of a pigeon's neck. Then having removed my hat, I covered with it the boulder and said to it. 'I must go and labour for the welfare of living beings.' The boulder replied· 'In this degenerate time I am responsible for the welfare of living beings,' and saying so, it inclined its top. As to myself, having passed over

the edge of the mountain, I went down the slope and felt (15a)
slightly unhappy and sad, similar to Vairocana, when he was proceeding towards Tsha-ba yul, about whom it has been said that 'he was lost as a needle in the jungle.' When I had reached the valley bottom, the Sun was shining warm, the valley was wide, the water pure, flowers were in abundance, and the green meadows were a pleasing sight. Then I woke up. Now I am to die! After my death, I am to go to the abode of vidyādharas. This son of yours will benefit living beings!" The mother said: "If Ru dies, what will become of the son?" and wept. "Do not cry!" said the father. "Crying in the middle of the night, the villagers might overhear it, and think that a quarrel had occured between us two." Then after two months, the bla-ma Dags-čhun passed away in his forty-ninth year. Žig-po Rin-po-čhe was brought up by his mother. When he grew up, he gave away all his clothes to a wretched beggar. The mother scolded him, but it was of no avail. Once all went to cast lots at a clever soothsayer. The mother also went to see him, and the latter said to her: "What may happen to your son? Gods and demons of the Universe are circumambulating round him and presenting him with offerings." One autumn, at harvest time, the mother said to the boy: "Stupid! To-day everyone is observing the harvest festival, and is offering gtor-mas and water offerings. You should also offer gtor-mas and water, for we also should observe the ceremony." The boy went to the place where the festival was held, without taking with him the water-offering, and shouted: "O gods and demons of the country of gYa'-bzaṅ! O gods and demons of Myan-naǵ 'ol-po! O black king of sBraṅ-po 'U-lu! Do not go to (15b)
anybody else this morning! The old lady Waṅ-mo is harvesting. Assist her in her harvest!" and saying so, he pretended to gather in the harvest, and his mother grew angry and scolded him. There was a field called "Sixty-four." During a very good harvest it used to yield forty measures (of grain). This year, in spite of a bad crop, it yielded

fifty measures. The mother was surprised. It is further said, that the mother regretted her throwing away the chaff, and having sifted it, increased the (field's) yield by three measures. The mother then believed (the boy), and thought that he must be an incarnation. She sent him for study to the residence of his uncle Dam-pa Še-brag-pa, and he stayed there for three years, during which time he listened to the exposition of the doctrine of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen), according to the method of Roṅ. He especially became learned in the summary of the doctrine. He also heard the "Extraction of the Hidden" (gab-phyuṅ, n. of a secret rite). When he was sixty, Dam-pa died. At the time of his death, he said: "These were important", and he obtained from him several profound precepts including the gDab-pa and sBruṅ-ba (n. of precepts)[1] He is said to have also said: "The teacher having passed away, my eyes were filled with tears, and I did not remember the precepts." At the age of sixty, he met Yon-tan-gzuṅs of sKyil-mkhar lha-khaṅ. At the time of Se-brag-pa's death, there were four disciples of his: Gaṅs-pa Ñi-khri, sTag-pa Lha-po, Ser-pa rgyal-mtshan and Ṅa-ru 'od-de. "You go to them," said the teacher. "Among them, Gaṅs-pa Ñi-khri is equal to me. You go to Gaṅs-pa Ñi-khri!" He used to say. "Since I had faith in the teacher Lha-khaṅ-pa, I went to him." Thus having gone to the bla-ma Lha-khaṅ-pa, he heard the Doctrine from him. Soon after the death of Dam-pa, when he had gone to bLa-ma Lha-khaṅ-pa, mother Wan-mo obtained initiation from the Great Teacher (Yon-tan-gzuṅs). Her crown (of initiation) was not yet removed, and her sorrow at the death of Dam-pa did not yet pass, when a yoginī, known as an ascetic and practising meditation, named Puṣpā (Me-tog), possessed of good fortune, came from India and Nepāl. The mother and a friend of hers, the wife of Raṅ-thag mkhan-po, went to see her. A large crowd had (16a)

1 See p 138.

assembled in front of the yoginī, presenting offerings to her and asking for her blessing. The mother thought: "I had received initiation from such a great teacher as sKyil-mkhar-pa, who placed a crown (of initiation) on my head, I shall not ask for a blessing from such a yoginī." But seeing that all who were present, had asked for her blessing, she felt a strong desire to do similarly. Accordingly she and the wife of Raṅ-thag mkhan-po approached her, and requested her to bless them. The yoginī said to her: "You had obtained initiation from such a bla-ma as sKyil-mkhar-pa! On your head you are still wearing the crown (of initiation). Is there any need of asking for my blessing?" The mother felt ashamed, and faith being born in her, she made an earnest request for the yoginī's blessing, and was given it. After her, the wife of Raṅ-thag mkhan-po also asked to be blessed. The yoginī stared at the woman, and said: "Your husband Raṅ-thag mkhan-po wandered about the four districts of dbUs and gTsaṅ, gave the flesh of his face to the people (i.e. had no shame), and the flesh of his legs to the dogs! This barley which he had gathered with such hardships, has been appropriated by you. It is a terrible sin! You cannot be helped!" (Hearing this) the woman pulled out her tongue, and the mother asked her. "Did you really do that?"—"Yes I did," aṅswered the woman. Then they asked the yoginī how to remove this sin. The yoginī said: "There are about forty loads of barley hidden by you, offer them to a good bla-ma and hold a religious assembly. Then you should do whatever your husband tells you to do. If you do so, you may improve. Otherwise you will be unhappy." Again she said to the mother: "You should not grieve so much at the passing of your brother Dam-pa Se-brag-pa. He is living, having entered the womb of a certain queen of a king in India. On his birth, he will have the opportunity of becoming a great religious king (dharmarāja), and will be able to labour extensively for the welfare of living beings."

The mother felt surprised and understood that the yoginī

possessed the faculty prescience. She then asked the yoginī: "I have a son. What will happen to him? Are we, mother and son, not threatened by untimely death?" (meaning the mother dying after her son). Having placed her hand on the mother's head, the yoginī sang the following psalm: "This son of yours, in these dissolute times, will become a leader of men. Half of his eye will look at the sky, and half of his garment will be spread over the ground. You will lead in comfort the life of an old woman. At this place many attendants will gather, and quarrel will arise. Sadness will arise from it. There is a chance of his escaping to a distant place before many years have passed." Then Źig-po resided for many years in the presence of sKyil-mkhar lha-khaṅ-pa and mastered the three classes of the utpannakrama and sampannakrama degrees (bskyed-rdzogs-gsum).[1] But he used to say: "I have followed the method of the 'Mental' Class (Sems-phyogs) only." He did not take up anything else, except the study of the "Mental" Class, and followed after this system in all his studies and meditations. Now the manner in which he studied the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs)· (16b)

The Class of Tantras: he studied the twenty-four great Tantras of the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs), including the ten mDo of Kun-byed (Kg. rÑiṅ-rgyud, No. 828; rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, p. 228b; they are included in vol. II/Kha/ of the rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum). The basic text of the "Mental" class (Sems-sde): he listened to the exposition of the 18 basic texts according to the methods of sKor, Roṅ, Khams and fourteen other methods. He used to say that there were fourteen (methods) which should be taught. Among the great treatises on mind-concentration according to the method of Roṅ, belonging to the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen), he heard the exposition of the rNal-'byor rigs-pa'i ñi-ma, the bSam-gtan mig-gi

[1] See p. 130.

sgron-ma, the bSam-gtan sñiṅ-gi ñi-ma, the gDar-śar, the gZer-bu, the Žus-lan khuṅs-kyi gdab-pa, the rDo-rJe sems-dpa'i žus-lan, and others. In the Class of Precepts (gdam-pa, upadeśa) and of "Oral Tradition" (sÑan-brgyud), he heard the precepts of the methods of sKor, Roṅ and Khams. Further he heard the "Oral Tradition" of the "Brāhma" Class (Bram-ze skor), the "Oral Tradition" of sKe-tshaṅ and rDzoṅ-'phraṅ (sKe-tshaṅ-daṅ-rDzoṅ-'phraṅ sñan-brgyud), the kLoṅ-sde and many others. Through listening to the Doctrine and through reflection over the Doctrine, he was able to remove all his doubts. Thus in general, he began his studies at the age of (17a) thirteen After the age of sixteen, he spent three years at the residence of Dam-pa. Then he proceeded to Lha-khaṅ. When Lha-rJe sNubs-smad was holding a religious assembly in Upper Myaṅ, he acted as assistant preacher (in the name of his Guru). Thus at the age of sixteen, he preached the Doctrine. He taught the sTon-thun according to the method of sKor (sKor-lugs sToṅ-thun), and became famous among scholars. Lha-rJe sNubs-smad said: "O you Son of a Priest (Jo-sras) from dbUs! You resemble my horse Khyuṅ-phrug kha-čhe!" It is said that he was given as remuneration eleven measures of barley. In this manner, at the very beginning of his teaching career he became famous, and pursued his studies till the age of thirty. He spent fourteen years with the bla-ma Lha-khaṅ-pa. All his vacations (bar-skabs) he used to spend at Se-sbrag, the residence of his uncle. There he meditated. He was invited by an old monk, a disciple of his father, named bLa-'dos, to gZad, and journeyed there. There he performed the ceremony of installation (as teacher, čhe-'don), and took over the monastery including those of Se-sbrag, Čhos-ldiṅs and many others. His fortune increased. On one occasion sGom-ma rnal-'byor-ma, Śākya gñan, Śāk-'od and A-stag 'Od-ldan, the four, said: "Being unable to reach Se-sbrag, we should make a resting place at the foot of this mountain," and thus built Čhos-ldiṅs. About that time

a disciple of the bla-ma Žaṅ-'tshal-pa, named gTsaṅ-sgom hrul-po arrived at Žig-po's residence, on his way to the Kailāśa, and told him the life-story of bla-ma Žaṅ. Faith was born in him, and they invited him to a religious assembly. He said: "Though I did not obtain instruction from this bla-ma, he is the teacher who blessed my mind." Thus he honoured him and attended on him. Then bla-ma Žaṅ said: "In this hermitage of yours there is a scarcity of water and fuel. In spite of it many people will gather here and there will be benefit for the living beings. Call it Chos-ldiṅs!" Thus the name of the hermitage was given by Žaṅ. At that time people used to say: (17*b*) "We listened to the exposition (of the Doctrine) by Lha-khaṅ-pa, and attended on 'Tshal-pa (bla-ma Žaṅ)." bLa-ma Lha-khaṅ-pa sent them about 20 measures of barley, meat and butter, and said: "You should invite a good teacher, and hold a religious assembly. It is my duty to help you, but I do not possess more than this." All people then stopped slandering (bla-ma Žaṅ), and he used to say: "In me also a new esteem towards the old teacher has been born." Thus his fortune increased. His mind shone like the sky and his compassion like Sun and Moon. His fame encompassed the four quarters of the World. He gathered (round himself) a numberless host of disciples, attended on his teacher, and laboured greatly for the welfare of living beings. His teacher was gladdened by three joys: He did not break his devotion even for a single moment, and used to say: "Whenever I left the presence of (my) teacher, I was unable to take leave without placing his foot on (my) head"; he performed numberless offerings of religious and worldly objects, and presented to the teacher seventeen copies of large sūtras, such as the three Prajñāpāramitās (rGyas-'briṅ rnam-gsum) and others written in gold; he obtained his benevolence and his insight and emancipation developed simultaneously. Having developed a mind-concentration on the impartial "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen), he became able to pass

unhindered through soil, stones, mountains and rocks. He saw himself surrounded by asuras. There exist also numerous stories about his possessing the faculty of foretelling future events, of his vanishing into a boulder while residing at the monastery of Da-luṅ of gZad-phu, of his passing unhindered through a mud wall on the Srin-po ri, and many others. This great man (mahāpuruṣa) had visited all the districts in the Abode of the Snow Mountains of the North. Men after being drawn towards religion (by him) became established on the Path of Emancipation. Later there appeared numberless kalyāṇa-mitras, who continued his work. He was famous as the Sun and Moon. Further, he performed numberless deeds for the benefit of the Doctrine, such as erecting sacrificial objects symbolizing the Body, Speech and Mind of the Sugata, healing (gso-ba), and assisting with donations of (18*a*)
material, etc. in the building (of temples) by others. He also attended on learned translators and scholars who came from India. He assisted great Tripiṭakadharas, learned in the Tantras and Sūtras, who were masters of the Doctrine, and acted as supporter to all those who had abandoned all worldly occupations and fostered meditative practices. He also helped poor and destitute persons. Men speaking different languages from India, China, Nepāl and other countries, gathered round him, and he became the source of all their needs and requirements. He was similar to the King of Jewels—Cintāmaṇi. Further, on three occasions he despatched offerings to the Vajrāsana, which was the Bodhimaṇḍa, the place of the Vajropama concentration of all the Sugatas of the three times, the place which seven fires and one flood could not destroy. On four occasions he made offerings to the two Lords of Lha-sa (Lha-sa'i Jo-bo rnam-gñis), Vice-regents of the Teacher. In addition to this, he performed innumerable direct and indirect deeds of benefit to living beings, and thus became famous beyond dispute in the region of the North. On four occasions he rebuilt the Lha-sa dam, but, at the time of the fourth occasion, when performing the consecration ceremony

(at the end of the work), his attendants got drunk and started quarrelling. His mind became disgusted, and he said to them: "You are tired of me, and I am also tired of you! I shall be going to a place, where I shall make myself invisible to your eyes and unheard to your ears". He passed away at the age of fifty-one, in the year Earth-Female-Sheep (sa-mo-lug—1199 A.D.) at the monastery of rGya-ra Gad-logs of gSaṅ-phu. His remains were transported by river, and kept for four months in the monastery of 'Ug-skad in bZad. Later they were taken to Thaṅ-skya. (The funeral rites were accompanied) by an earthquake. Further, from the vase containing sacrificial water (which was placed in front of the body), a lotus flower appeared, resembling a rainbow, and was seen by all for three days. On the day preceding the funeral, at dusk, the Sun and Moon were seen to shine simultaneously. At the time of the funeral rites, there appeared numerous (18*b*) sounds, lights, rainbows, as well as a quantity of images, letter signs, stūpas and other relics. The king, the officials and his disciples having recognized gZad Thaṅ-skya to be the residence of this mahāpuruṣa, built a temple there. They also erected numerous images symbolizing the Body, Speech and Mind (of the teacher) at various big and small monasteries, where he used to stay and preach the Doctrine. Žig-po had numerous disciples. Those who became his spiritual sons (thugs-sras) are the following. rTa-ston J̌o-yes, Mahā lhun-po, mkhas-pa J̌o-nam, J̌o-bsad of dbUs, bZaṅ-ston Hor-grags, and gÑos-ston bla-ma. These six are well-known. Among them, the one on whom he bestowed precepts and who had obtained the essence of his knowledge, and who became the chief among his favorite sons, was rTa-ston J̌o-yes. His great grandfather rTa-bon dBaṅ-grags, who followed both the Doctrine and the Bon, possessed sons, wealth and authority. He was the lord of Upper gYu-ru, and had eight sons and two daughters, ten in all. The youngest of the eight sons was rTa-ston J̌o-'bum. His son was J̌o-yes. When J̌o-'bum was young, he heard the bKa'-gdams-pa doctrine of Po-

to-ba in the presence of the bla-ma mDa' Byaṅ-čhub sems-dpa' of Grum-bu-luṅ of gZad. Later he stayed in his native district. He possessed numerous attendants and much landed property. He felt sadness towards them, and felt disgust. Taking with him four servants, he proceeded into the presence of gÑos-Čhu-bo-ri-pa, the spiritual son of Lha-rje gLan Ña-tshal-pa, and with his five attendants entered religion. He heard many doctrines of the "Old" Tantras, and especially became learned in the basic text of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen) together with precepts, according to the method of sKor. Having visited bla-ma Phag-mo gru-pa, he heard the complete precepts of the "Path and Fruit" (Lam-'bras) doctrine, and those of the Mahāmudrā (Phyag-rgya čhen-po). Further, he heard the three sections of the Dohā (Do-ha skor-gsum) according to the system of sGaṅ of the Mahāmudrā from the bla-ma 'Tshar-ston of Upper dbU-ru. From Zaṅs-pa'i 'Bro-ras he heard the system of Ras-čhuṅ-pa (19a)
of Lo-ro. From Naṅ-ston mgon-po he heard the Vajravidhu (rNam-'Joms) and the Vajrakīla (Tantras). From dMar-ston-'Jam he heard the Saṃvara (bDe-mčhog, i.e. the Śri-Cakrasaṃvara-tantrarāja, Kg. rGyud, No. 413), and obtained on 108 occasions the Saṃvara initiation. Thus, though he had attended on many teachers, he accepted as his mūla-ācāryas (rtsa-ba'i bla-ma) gÑos-Čhu-bo-ri-pa and Phag-mo gru-pa. He was satisfied with his studies, and settled at Čhu-bo-ri, and practised meditation. Many disciples gathered round him, and he laboured extensively for the welfare of others. He had (two) sons: rTa-ston Jo-yes and Jo-bsod of dbUs. When Jo-yes was twelve, and Jo-bsod seven, their father Jo-'bum, aged fifty-one, passed away on the 13th day of the first month (čho-'phrul zla-ba) of the Horse year (rta-lo), Jo-bsod visited Žig-po, who approved of him and bestowed upon him the complete precepts, and the Tantra of the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs). Žig-po said to him: "Since you have shown earnestness towards the Doctrine, I shall send you to my Teacher. Go there and study well!" Thus having entrusted

him to Lha-khaṅ-pa, the Great, Jo-bsod made a complete study of the mDo, the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) and the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs). At that time he became known as Jo-bsod of dbUs, the spiritual son of Źig-po and Lha-khaṅ-pa, and became an excellent scholar. He died at the age of thirty-one. rTa-ston Jo-yes proceeded at the age of twelve to bla-ma dMar-ston-'Jam, and obtained (the initiation) into the Saṃvara system and the Phyag-na rdo-rje bdud-rtsi thigs-pa (Tg. rGyud, No. 2170?). For two years he repeated the long dhāraṇī (of Vajrapāṇi). Together with his father he obtained on 101 occasions the initiation into the Samvara system. In all he obtained 116 initiations, including those which he obtained later. For two years he heard the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) system from Kha-rag sTon-sñiṅ. From bla-ma rTsags and Se-dur-luṅ-pa he obtained the precepts and the basic text of the sKor method of the "Great Achievement". At the age of sixteen, he preached the rDo-rje sems-dpa' nam-mkha'-čhe (rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum, vol. II/Kha/; rÑiṅ-ma'i dkar-čhag, fol. 228a). At the end of his sixteenth year, he proceeded towards Lower Ṅams-śod. From his father's disciple, the Venerable Hags, he heard the method of sGaṅ of the Mahāmudrā (Phyag-rgya čhen-po) system. From the bla-ma Zaṅs-ri rGya-ras he heard the systems of Ras-čhuṅ-pa of Lo-ro, the Hevajra system (19b) according to the method of Mes (Mes-ston tshon-po), the 'Jam-dpal gsaṅ-ldan (Tg. rGyud, No. 2593,2594), the system of Saṃvara (Tg. rGyud, No. 1427—Śrī-Bhagavadabhisamaya-nāma) according to the method of Lu'i-pa, the sādhana of mTsho-skyes rdo-rje (Śrīhevajrasādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 1218, also known as the sGrub-thabs mTsho-skyes), the "Path and Fruit" (Lam-'bras) doctrine according to the method of Źa-ma (the basic text of the Lam-'bras system is the Lam-'bras-bu-daṅ-bčas-pa'i rtsa-ba rdo-rje'i tshig-rkaṅ, Tg. rGyud, No. 2284), and the three cycles of Źi-byed. He held in high esteem the method of sKam. Further, he obtained the system of the Dharmapāla Drag-saṅ, etc. and listened

to all the wisdom of bla-ma Zaṅs-ri-pa, in the manner of a vase filled to the brim. From the bla-ma rLuṅ-phyag-dum he heard the basic text of the method of rLuṅ of the Mahāmudrā (Phyag-rgya čhen-po), the class of short precepts (sToṅ-thun gdams-ṅag-gi skor), and the class called the "Blessing of (Vajra) vārahī" (Phag-mo byin-rlabs). In this manner he heard the complete exposition of the (system) known as the three classes of the Dohā (Tg. rGyud, No. 2263 and ff.), and the gTor-rgyud čhen-po. He also studied innumerable rites of the Guardians of the Doctrine, headed by mGon-po sTag-žon. From the siddha Mal-byed tshaṅ-pa he obtained the rite (of propitiation) of the goddess Ka-ki-nī. In this manner, he pursued his studies in Lower Ṅams-śod, and spent there more than seven years. At twenty-four, he went away. Then, the ācārya J̌o-sras, aged nineteen, having come down from gTsaṅ, they agreed on the date, and both brothers held their coming of age ceremony (čhe-'don). After finishing the ceremony of welcome, he proceeded to gTsaṅ. J̌o-yes heard the Cycle of Vajrakīla from Zaṅ-ston J̌o-'khyams. He stayed at Čhu-bo-ri, and practised meditation. Then he proceeded to Žig-po. At first he did not intend to ask him for an exposition of the Doctrine. Thinking to himself: "In the matter of religion, I am more learned (than he). Also in the domain of precepts I am greater than he, but his fame is great, and because he is the teacher of my younger brother, I should go and see him, and make offerings to him." He went to meet him, and made offerings to him. He met Žig-po bDud-rtsi residing at the hermitage of 'Ug-skad. On the mere seeing of his face, a feeling of devotion was produced in him of its own. Next day, when he was about to leave, he said (to Žig-po): "I shall come again into your presence, filled with esteem, accept me as your disciple." The teacher (Žig-po) said: "Have you faith?" and he answered "I have faith." "Well then, because of your past deeds, stay here from now on. The nature of this Phenomenal World (20a)
is transient, and there is no certainty as to the Future." But

J̌o-yes replied: "Because I did not intend staying here, I did not bring provisions along." Žig-po said "No one brings provisions when coming here. Why should you alone require special provisions?" Thus he remained in the presence of the teacher, and heard the exposition of the Doctrine. Among the classes of Tantras, he heard the three sections of the "Mother and Son" (Ma-bu sum-bskor) of the Kun-byed rgyal-po (Čhos-thams-cad rdzogs-pa-čhen-po byaṅ-čhub-kyi sems kun-byed rgyal-po, Kg. rÑiṅ-rgyud, No. 828), the ten sūtras of the bśad-rgyud (bśad-rgyud mdo-bču), the four sections of the bśad-rgyud of the 'Khor-ba rtsad-gčod-kyi rgyud ('Khor-ba rtsad-gčod-kyi rgyud-ba bśad-rgyud sde-bži, rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum, vol. VII /J̌a/ ; rÑiṅ-ma'i dkar-čhag, fol. 230*b*), the mūla and vrtti of the rGyan-čhos, together with precepts, the profound basic text (Zab-pa gžuṅ) on the method of exposition of the eighteen mūlas (rtsa-ba bčwo-brgyad-kyi bśad-srol-la zab-pa gžuṅ), the "Revelation of the Hidden" and the exposition of precepts and meditative practice (Gab-pa mṅon-du phyuṅ-ste man-ṅag sgom-sdebs-su bśad-pa), its sGom-'grel sÑiṅ-gi ñi-ma-drug, also the sÑiṅ-rig-pa'i ñi-ma-drug, the "Oral Tradition" (sñan-brgyud) together with the system (čhos-skor) of sGro-ba nag-po., the sGom-yig čhen-mo, the Rig-ñi, the Mig-sgron, the gDar-śa, and the gZer-bu. Among the class of "Oral Precepts" (gdams-pa sñan-brgyud): he earnestly practised the precepts of the sKor method, those of the method of Roṅ and those of the method of Khams, together with explanatory notes. Having met Žig-po, he drank profusely from the immaculate stream of his teaching. He realised the teacher's mind, obtained his blessing and attained simultaneously insight and emancipation. "Though a Dharma-kāya was present in me, I did not recognize it. From eternity the nature of illusion is inconceivable. By reason of the awakening of my former deeds and through accumulated merit, I had the opportunity of meeting a perfect teacher, and of studying a little the profound Tantric teachings. All my doubts concerning the

nature of the Mind were removed in the presence of Žig-po who bestowed on me profound precepts handed down through four Spiritual Lineages, and which reflected the essence of the mind of this precious and matchless teacher," said he. In general, this person from the very beginning was distinguished from others by his wisdom and his Spiritual Lineage, and by the accumulations of former experiences. Having met since his youth many learned teachers, he was endowed with an extraordinary wealth of knowledge and (20b)
mastered the meaning of all the Tantras and precepts. Having secured the blessing of ancient venerable (teachers), he perceived all external objects as belonging to the sphere of the Absolute (čhos-ñid, dharmatā), and did not pay attention to worldly eulogy and slander, and carried on (his work) without any pretensions. Throughout all his life he felt devotion towards his teacher present in himself, and never grew tired of labouring in the interests of his teacher and of serving his teacher's monastery. He was endowed with an awakened thought of great compassion, and without thinking about his personal salvation, laboured for the welfare of living beings by the exercise of proper benign and stern acts. Whatever action he performed, he was a king of yogins (rtogs-ldan), similar to a mountain, and was never separated from the understanding of the Ultimate Essence (čhos-ñid-kyi rtogs-pa). In general, this rTa-ston Jo-yes was born in the year Water-Female-Sheep (čhu-mo-lug—1163 A.D.). At the age of twenty-five, he met Žig-po. When he was thirty-seven, Žig-po died. Till that time, they have stayed together, as teacher and disciple, for eleven years, without parting for even a day. He attended (on his teacher) for seven years, and gladdened his teacher with three kinds of joy. Their minds were united, and on three occasions, the teacher blessed him, saying: "O you who did what the teacher liked! May all your thoughts be fulfilled!" In general, one could not find a teacher, in whose interest he did not labour. In particular he disposed of all his landed property and re-

nounced worldly possessions, and on four occasions held religious assemblies in honour of Žig-po. He presented (Žig-po) with a total of seventy-four good horses. He also wrote down all the precepts and advice (received from his teacher), and was thus of great benefit to later followers. In this manner his desire to study the Doctrine was fulfilled, and he thought: "I shall proceed to a country of forests and mountain valleys unseen and unheard of by men. Should I be unable to obtain miraculous powers (siddhi), I shall not leave behind me any traces of my going there and dying there." He used to copy books in the form of short notes only. During the life-time of Žig-po, the latter did not permit him to go away. After that, he felt unable to go against the advice of dbOn Seṅ-ge rgyal and the ācārya sPrul-sku, and used to say: "Continuous work on behalf of the monastery did not permit me to give it up. Therefore in my old age, (21a)
I have become such an old father, with wife and son." His sins were removed, for having laboured on behalf of his teacher. He developed his mind concentration, and used to say: "(this life) was more profitable, than to stay at hermitages." Later he studied with the teacher Brag-dkar-mo-ba of Po-doṅ, the Rin-po-čhe gsal-ba sgron-ma'i rgyud (rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 230b), and the 'Phags-lam bkod-pa'i rgyud (rÑin-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 229b). He also obtained minute precepts. If we would count all the teachers, from whom he had heard the Doctrine, we would find sixteen. There were thirteen teachers under whom he had studied in earnest. Among them there were six mūla-gurus (rtsa-ba'i bla-ma), and among these three of special benefit to him, but the greatest and matchless among them was Žig-po Rin-po-čhe. Then his father, dMar-ston 'Jam, Kha-rag-pa, father and son, Se-dur-luṅ-pa, bla-ma rTsags, the Venerable Hags, Zaṅs-ri rGya-ras, rLuṅ, father and son, Žar čhos-pa (the assistant Žar), Lho-pa lTo-'ber, Mal-byed Tshaṅ-pa, Naṅ-ston Jo-'khyams, Žig-po bDud-rtsi, rMa-bya Byaṅ-brtson and Brag-dkar-mo-ba. Now, the manner in which he attained the perfection of

mind following (the instructions) of Žig-po: when he was erecting the image of Avalokiteśvara of Thaṅ-skya, and for eighteen months was engaged in the work of melting copper at Žuṅ-mkhar, a yogic insight (rtogs-pa) was born in him. At the time of preaching the "Accumulation of Oral Tradition" (sÑan-brgyud spuṅs-pa) at gLag-pa-lam, he suddenly obtained blessing, and an extraordinary sensation of perceiving all visual objects as belonging to the sphere of the Ultimate Essence was born in him. When king Pho-brags took away the horse which belonged to the ācārya sPrul-sku, and while he was propitiating the Religious Protector (dharmapāla) on the rock sNaṅ-gsal of rDor-thas-phu, he had a vision of Mahākāla. When he was making a begging round of the five villages of sTod-khuṅ in sTod-luṅs, on the night of the offering of the 29th, he saw in his dream Žig-po coming towards (him), and bestowing precepts on him. His grief (21b) vanished by itself. From that time onwards, he did not experience ordinary grief even for a brief moment. In order to work for the benefit of the monastery and Žig-po, he visited many kingdoms, and laboured extensively for the welfare of living beings. For six years he attended on the two Śākya lords of Lha-sa, and passed away on the 19th day of the month Bhādrapada (ston-zla ra-ba, 15th Aug.—15th Sept.) of the year Iron-Male-Tiger (lčags-pho-stag—1230 A.D.) at the age of sixty-eight. Many relics were left behind (after his cremation). The mahā-siddha U-rgyan-pa was born in this Iron-Tiger year (lčags-stag—1230 A.D.). This year is the 61st year, if counted from the year of the passing of Śrī Phag-mo gru-pa. There was a very learned disciple of Saṅs-rgyas dbon-ston, named rTa-ston gZi-brjid. He composed an extensive commentary on the gSaṅ-sñiṅ. I have written (the story of the Lineage) as it appears in the account of the Lineage composed by him. Prior to him, the teachers of the Lineage were said to have been learned in the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) and the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs). He was famous as a scholar, learned in all treatises belonging to the

Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) system and the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs). They belonged to the Lineages of these two systems. In the Khog-dbub of gYuṅ-ston-pa (a disciple of Bu-ston) the list of disciples of sGro-sbug-pa differs slightly from the one given above. gTsaṅ-pa Byi-ston and sGoṅ-dri-ṅas-pa N̄e-ston Čhos-kyi seṅ-ge, disciples of sGro-sbug-pa, taught to gTsaṅ-nag 'Od-'bar. From the latter the Doctrine was heard by Mes-ston mgon-po. bLa-ma Sro heard it from him. From Sro- Pa-śi Śāk-'od and rTa-nag bDud-rtsi. The reason for calling him Pa-śi (<po-shih, mong. baγši). the tittle was given him by command of the Emperor Se-čhen in order to make him equal in title to the Imperial Preceptors (Goṅ-ma'i bla-ma; the Tibetan expression translates the Chinese Ti-shih), after he had extracted the "water of life" (tshe-čhu), hidden by the ācārya Padma, from the rock rDo-rJe tshe-brtan, and sent it by envoy (gser-yig-pa) to the Emperor. Zur Byams-pa sen-ge heard the Doctrine from the latter. From his youth, he was endowed with a powerful mind, and knowledge. In particular he was learned in the system of Māyā (sGyu-'phrul). He died at the age of twenty-seven. gYuṅ-ston-pa and 'Jam-dbyaṅs bSam-grub rdo-rJe heard (22a)
the Doctrine from him.

The story of gYuṅ-ston-pa: he belonged to the gLan family. His native place (was) Tshoṅ-'dus. From his youth his knowledge was great. He was learned in the "Old" and "New" classes of Tantras. In the Sūtra literature, he mastered the Abhidharma-samuccaya (mN̄on-pa kun-las-btus, Tg. Sems-tsam, No. 4049). He went as attendant of Zur Byams-pa seṅ-ge, when the latter heard the exposition of the Cycle of Yamāntaka (gŚin-rJe) from Śaṅs-pa Śāk-'bum, and studied it well in the company of his teacher. Having mastered the method and the yantra ('khrul-khor), his magic power became great. In his youth he went to China by Imperial command, and performed before the Emperor a religious dance, etc. At that time many villages, which had to pay tribute in grain to the Emperor, were suffering from

draught. They therefore requested the Emperor to send someone who could cause rain to fall. He was sent there. He prayed to the Three Jewels, and rain began to fall. The Emperor was greatly pleased, and gave him numerous presents. With great wealth he returned to Tibet. He did not give anything to his acquaintances or his friends, but offered everything to his teacher and the monastic community in memory of his mother. He heard many precepts from many teachers. He was a disciple of the Dharmasvāmin Raṅ-'byuṅ rdo-rje and Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe. He became learned in the Kālacakra, and earnestly practised the precepts of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen), etc. He went to Mon Ba-gro, and his power of concentration became great. In this connection, he sang a song which began with the words: "I, the matchless Jina gYuṅ-ston.................." He spent a long time residing at Phuṅ-po Ri-bo-čhe and at Ra-dum-brag, preached and laboured for the welfare of others. He was able to stop water (from flowing out) when a water bag was pierced by a needle made of a vulture feather. He was not burnt when touching a red-hot iron. He plastered a wall with a mixture made of six kinds of stones, and the wall became (firm) as a rock. He knew many wonderful works. He used to discriminate between Buddhahood (attained) through the Tantras, and the (22b)
Buddhahood (attained) through Sūtras. gYag-ston paṇ-čhen after having grasped this theory, had faith in it, and with 15 attendants proceeded to Phuṅ-po Ri-bo-čhe, and became gYuṅ-ston's disciple. In latter life, he ordained Tshogs-pa Čhos-luṅ-pa. His name rDo-rje-'bum was changed to that of rDo-rje-dpal. This holy man was born in the year Wood-Male-Ape (śiṅ-pho-spre—1284 A.D.)* He died at the age of eighty-two in the year Wood-Female-Serpent (śiṅ-mo-sbrul—1365 A.D.).

1 The Chronological Table of Sum-pa mkhan-po (JASB., No II/1889/, p 56ff.) gives the year 1288 A.D. (sa-byi, Earth-Mouse).

'Jam-dbyans bSam-grub rdo-rje: was born in the year Wood-Female-Sheep (śiṅ-mo-lug—1295 A.D.) at rTa-nag gnas-gsar, as son of a family, which produced many rÑiṅ-ma-pa scholars. He studied much under Zur Byams-pa seṅ-ge, and in particular he was learned in the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) class. From gLan Ña-tshal-pa bSod-nams mgon-po he heard the initiation into the system of Māyā (sGyu-'phrul). In his childhood he was left with Zur Śākya 'byuṅ-gnas of Yaṅ-dben-pa, who was famous as a great scholar and a siddha, and with bla-ma Seṅ-ge-ba of 'Ug-pa-luṅ-pa, and was well educated by them. The later Lineage of Gyi-zur owed much to him. At Bye-ma seṅ-ge he concentrated his mind steadily on the sÑiṅ-thig of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen). Having transformed (himself) into the image of the Great Sphere(Thig-le čhen-po), he acquired a very high degree of concentration which enabled him to penetrate many Paradises of Buddhas, etc. He passed away at the age of eighty-two in the year Fire-Male-Dragon (me-pho-'brug—1376 A.D.). As he was dying, he said to his son. "I am going to Sukhāvatī! You will also live till the age of eighty-two. Then come to Sukhāvatī!" Śaṅs-pa Kun-mkhyen, whose fame encompassed all quarters (of the World), also obtained in his childhood many initiations and blessings from this teacher, and became a great scholar. Our teacher, known as the Venerable Saṅs-rgyas Rin-čhen rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po was born in the year Iron-Male-Tiger (lčags-pho-stag—1350 A.D.) at rTa-nag gnas-gsar, when his father (bSam-grub rdo-rje) was fifty-six. (23a)
This Iron-Tiger year is the 241st year since the birth of Phag-mo gru-pa. mKha'-spyod-pa and the precious mahā-paṇḍita rGyal-bzaṅs-pa were also born in this year. People used to say to his father: "This son of yours is of no use! Why should you take so much care (with him)?" But the father prophecised, saying that his son will be of benefit to living beings. At the age of six he learnt by heart the gSaṅ-sñiṅ-gi rgyud. When he came into the presence of the Precious Śāk'byuṅ-pa, the latter held him dear and called him:

"My teacher's son", but because of it, he forgot (the Tantra). At the age of eight, he again learnt it by heart. His father taught him ritual. When he was fourteen, he was able to act as teacher and bestow initiations on others. After having mastered well the doctrines of the system of Māyā (sGyu-'phrul), he requested his father: "Now, I shall take the monastic vows. I should also learn some sūtras, and some of the Tantras of the "New" (gsar-ma) class."—"This is very good", replied the father, "but you are my only son. Take a wife and after getting one or two pairs of sons, you can then take the monastic vows." At the age of twenty-four, he married this Ma-gčig. She bore six sons and two daughters. There was also one son from another mother. He used to say: "Many years had passed in bringing them up!" When he was fifty-six, he took the monastic vows, both the noviciate and the final ordination at the same time at Čhos-'khor-sgaṅ. Being of a very strict character, he became very learned in the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) system About the age of forty, he composed an extensive commentary on the gSaṅ-sñiṅ-rgyud, and an analysis of the Lam rnam-par-bkod-pa. Among the eight Phrin-las śar-ba, he composed the Khro-bo-la mṅon-par rtogs-pa rgyas-pa, and a very extensive ritual text on gNas-luṅ (funeral rite). He studied much with his father and the latter's spiritual son Thub-pa rdo-rJe, and practised their precepts. When he was seventy, in the year Earth-Female-Hog (sa-mo-phag—1419 A.D.) he bestowed the initiation of sGyu-'phrul ži-khro, the tshe-dbaṅ of (23b)
sGyu-'phrul, the initiation of Na-ra-gdoṅ-sprugs, the initiation of Tshe-bdag (Yamāntaka), the initiation of Yaṅ-bdag Me-gčig, the rJes-gnaṅ of rTa-'grin according to the method of rNa-bo-pa, the rJes-gnaṅ of the system of Zla-rgyal-ma, as well as the initiation into the Vajrakīla system according to the Sa-skya method, and the Rig-pa'i rtsal-dbaṅ belonging to the eighteeen works of the "Mental" Class (Sems-sde). He taught the gSaṅ-sñiṅ-rgyud together with its commentary, and preached extensively the Commen-

tary on the Lam rnam-par-bkod-pa (a rÑiṅ-ma treatise), composed by himself. He also used to recite about forty lesser texts, such as the gSal-sgron, the principal text of the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) Class, and others, the mDo dGoṅs-pa 'dus-pa, its Mūla-Tantra—the Kun-'dus (rÑiṅ-ma'i rgyud-'bum, vol. X /Tha/; rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 231b), the Mun-pa'i go-čha, a commentary on the mDo (the dGoṅs-pa 'dus-pa, this is a famous commentary in Tibet), composed by sNubs Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes, the sGyu-'phrul brgyad-bču-pa (the rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 232b, names a sGyu-'phrul brgyad-pa), the bLa-ma-gñis (rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 232b), and the Yaṅ-dag rtsa-ba'i luṅ. He also bestowed the four initiations of the sÑiṅ-thig, such as the sPros-bčas and others, a commentary based on the "Explanatory Notes" (Khrid-yig) composed by Me-loṅ rdo-rje, as well as gave instructions in the precepts of A-ro, belonging to the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen). 'Jam-dbyans bSam-grub rdo-rje heard the full explanation of the Avalokiteśvara Cycle from Byaṅ-sems rGyal-ba ye-śes. The Venerable himself heard it from the former He also bestowed it on me. With the help of the "Explanatory Notes" (Khrid-yig) of Čhos-rje bla-ma, I obtained an exceptional faith in the class of religious texts known as the "Old" Tantras (gSan-sṅags rñiṅ-ma), and was not affected by the defilement of abandoning religious vows (through their study). At the age of seventy-two, in the year Iron-Female-Ox (lčags-mo-glaṅ—1421 A.D.), he proceeded to dbUs. In the year Water-Male-Tiger (čhu-pho-stag—1422 A.D.) he was attended to by dBaṅ Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan at bSam-gtan-gliṅ. He bestowed numerous initiations, such as the initiation of the mDo Kun-'dus and other texts, and taught and recited (luṅ) the text of the gSaṅ-sñiṅ-rgyud and other texts. In the Dragon year ('brug-lo—1424 A.D.) he proceeded to gTsaṅ, and died at the age of eighty-two, in the year Iron-Female-Hog (lčags-mo-phag—1431 A.D.). From this Iron-Hog year to the Fire-Male-Ape year (me-pho-spre'u—1476 A.D.) 46 years have elapsed. In general, from the birth of Zur-

čhuṅ-ba (in 1014 A.D.) to the year Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre'u—1476 A.D.) 463 years have elapsed. Further, one named Saṅs-rgyas grags, belonging to the gÑal family, was born at rGyas-smad sTag-rtse. A small field belonging to him was carried away by water, after he had propitiated Jambhala. He then renounced the World. When a wealthy man of sPu-gu-dor died of leprosy, and there was no one to carry the body away, he volunteered to wrap up the body, without distinguishing between filth and cleanliness (rtog-med). He discovered a large quantity of gold near the bed of the dead man. On his return, he became a disciple of Khyuṅ-po Khro-bo of Gra-phyi khan-dmar. He spent his time performing the sādhana of Yaṅ-dag (Yaṅ-dag sgrub-pa), during which he had a vision of the "Yaṅ-dag of nine lamps" (Yaṅ-dag mar-med dgu, n. of a maṇḍala) Then he proceeded to gTsaṅ. He studied the mDo, the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) system, and other texts with a nephew of that Bya čhen-po, who was a disciple of sGro-sbug-pa A wealthy man presented him with a hundred measures of barley. Then he became learned in the mDo, the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul), etc. Further, he heard the exposition of the mDo and Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) from Myaṅ-nag mDo-po, a disciple of sGro-sbug-pa, and his disciple Lha-rJe mÑa'-seṅ-ge, and became a great scholar. rGya-'čhiṅ-ru-ba, a disciple of gÑal-pa Žig-po also met him, and studied much under him. He founded in his native place (the monastery) of rÑo-thog-thel. His disciple, known as Čhos-kyi seṅ-ge of sKyi became very learned, and attained spiritual realization. He (rÑo-thog-pa) visited the Mongol Emperor. The Emperor Se-čhen (Qubilai) behaved towards him in a high handed manner, and ordered him to be placed inside a stūpa, the entrance of which was closed. When at the end of the year, they opened the door and looked inside the stūpa, they found him transformed into an image of Vajrakīla (rDo-rJe phur-bu). This caused great amazement. The Emperor then bestowed on rÑo-thog-pa large presents of (24a)

costly silks, etc. He also owned much land given to him by Imperial command ('Ja'-sa<mong. Jasay). Śākya-'od of sMan-luṅ, whose secret name was Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, the eldest of the five sons born to mÑam-med-pa, son of Myaṅ-ston čhen-po of 'Phyoṅ-po khe-ru, thoroughly studied under Čhos-kyi seṅ-ge of sKyi the mDo and the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) systems. Later he continued his studies under bSod-rgyal, (24b) a scholar of gLan, son of gLan rDo-rje 'od-po. He composed numerous text-books, such as a Summary on the gSaṅ-sñiṅ-rgyud, and its Commentary called rGyud-don rnam-ṅes, etc. Sans-rgyas goṅ-la-ba-pa of Dags-po heard it from him. He had many disciples in Dags-po proper, such as the bla-ma gÑan and others. Having become the teacher of the Lord of Goṅ-gyo, he propagated the Doctrine in Khams. Śāk-'bum-pa, the precious son of Yar-kluṅs sprul-sku, made a thorough study of the gSan-sñiṅ under sMan-lun-pa. mKhas-grub Čhos-dpal-pa, father and son, heared the exposition of the gSaṅ-sñiṅ from him. rGya Ye-śes mgon-po, who occupied the chair of Čhos-kyi sen-ge of sKyi, and gLan bSod-rgyal mastered the mDo and Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) systems. The nephew dPal-ldan rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan having first gone to gSan-phu, made a thorough study of the Pramāṇa-viniścaya (Tshad-ma rnam-ṅes, Tg. Tshad-ma, No. 4211), and later studied the mDo and Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) systems under rGya Ye-śes mgon-po. He composed a commentary basing himself on the text of the gSaṅ-sñin 'grel-pa Par-khab (a famous commentary), a manual on its rite of initiation, and other texts. He taught his nephew bla-ma Tshul-rgyal-ba. Ri-gdoṅ-pa Śes-rab rgyal-mtshan heard the Doctrine from the latter. He proceeded to Dags-po and taught it to Ku-rab-pa and his followers, as well as to some Tantrics. The practice of the benign and wrathful aspects of the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) exists there without interruption up-to the present. Žan mkhar-ba bSod-nams bzaṅ-po, a disciple of Śes-rab rgyal-mtshan. His disciple was the ācārya bdag-ñid čhen-po bKra-śis rgya-mtsho.

From him I obtained the permission (luṅ) to read the Great Commentary (mahāṭīkā) of the gSaṅ-sñiṅ, composed by rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan. Further, from this Great Soul I obtained the initiation of Phur-pa Lha-nag-ma (a form of Vajrakīla), as well as the text-book composed by rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan. I also obtained several smaller texts, such as the bŚad-'bum rdo-rje don-gsal and others. Now his Spiritual Lineage: the ācārya Padma and his śakti, 'Bre A-tsar Sa-le, Laṅ-lab Byaṅ-čhub rdo-rje (a personal enemy of (25a)
Rwa lo-tsā-ba, murdered by the latter), sNa-nam Tshul-khrims śes-rab, Khyuṅ-po 'Čhal-čhen, 'Čhal-čhuṅ, bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan, Ya-'brog-pa Gu-rub Yaṅ-dag, who based himself on the text of the Phur-pa mya-ṅan-las 'das-pa'i rgyud (rDo-rje phur-bu čhos-thams-čad mya-ṅan-las-'das-pa'i rgyud, rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 236a) and changed the colour of deities to black, his disciple 'Gos-ston Byaṅ-'bar, Khyuṅ-po seṅ-ge, Khyuṅ-po khro-bo, gÑal-ston-grags, Čhos-kyi seṅ-ge of sKyi, rGya Ye-śes mgon-po, dPal-ldan rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan, bla-ma Tshul-rgyal-ba, Ri-gdoṅ-pa Śes-rab rgyal-mtshan, the ācārya bSod-nams bzaṅ-po, and the ācārya bKra-śis rgya-mtsho-ba. Ṅog Śes-rab bla-ma heard the (Vajra)kīla system of rTse-sgaṅ-pa and sÑe-mdo-ba from Gu-rub. His son bKra-śis grags-pa. Later the sons spread the Lineage. Again the precepts of the teaching of the mDo and Māyā (sGyu-'phrul). Rog Śes-rab 'od heard the system from numerous teachers. First he heard it from Rog-ston btsan-po. From Lhab-dres-ma goṅ-pa he heard the mDo, the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) and the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs) according to the method of So. He also heard the mDo and the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) systems according to the method of sKyo. He heard the mDo and Māyā systems according to the method of Zur from the ācārya Yam-śud dṄos-grub, the assistant preacher (zur-čhos-pa) of Lhab. sNubs-ston, the disciple of sGro-sbug-pa, taught it to Kha-rag sñiṅ-po. The latter to Yam-śud. Further, Kha-rag sñiṅ-po taught it to his son Padma-'bar. The latter to Śes-rab-'od. Rog Śes-rab-'od heard the

mDo and the sGyu-'phrul mtshan-mans from So Dar-ma señ-ge gLan Śākya bzañ-po of Chu-bar who taught his son gLan Jo-btsun señ-ge. The latter (taught) So Dar-ma sñiñ-po. The latter (taught) So Dar-ma señ-ge. Rog Śes-rab-'od heard also the mDo and the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) systems from Myan-nag mDo-pa, a disciple of Lha-rJe Ña-ri-ba. He also composed an abridgement of the basic text of the "Path and Fruit" (Lam-'bras) doctrine of the Māyā system, and a commentary on the Lam rnam-par-bkod-pa. He taught the system to sÑe-mdo, the All-knowing. He also composed detailed notes to the commentary on the gSañ-sñiñ and detailed notes on the Lam rnam-par-bkod-pa. These (books) greatly helped the teaching of the Tantras and the initiations among the Lineage (25b) of Rog. At Dan-bag the teaching of the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) system continued through this Lineage. kLoñ-čhen rab-'byams (rDo-rJe gzi-brJid) also studied it there, and used to say that the method of explaining the commentary of the gSañ-sñiñ 'grel-pa Par-khab was unsatisfactory, but that the method of Roñ-zom was good. He composed the sPyi'i khog-dbub-pa and the rGyud-kyi rnam-bśad (known as the kLoñ-čhen-pa'i gSañ-sñiñ 'grel-pa). He composed them basing himself on the precepts of the sÑiñ-thig system. At Mañ-dkar in Upper gTsañ, the Doctrine was well taught and practised by sTod-zur-ba and his followers. It spread widely towards south Las-stod and throughout the North. In the North I have seen books composed by Se-ston 'Byuñ-ldan-'od, sNar-ston Señ-ge-'od, Byañ-tar-la-mo-pa Yon-tan dbañ-phyug and others. Though in general it is possible to guess the number of disciples of the three Zur (Zur rnam-pa gsum), as given by former (scholars) at gŚar, and that of their innumerable followers, it is impossible to give their respective names and their clans. Those who became famous throughout Khams, became known as the followers of the Khams school (Khams lugs-pa), as stated in the commentary by Roñ-zom. The preaching of the mDo and Māyā (sGyu-'phrul), together with the practice of initiation and meditation according to the Lineage of gTsañ-pa,

appears to exist even now in the hermitage of Ka-thog (one of the Ka-Pe-rDzogs-gsum, the three great monasteries of the rÑiṅ-ma-pas), near sBom-po on the bank of the 'Bri-čhu, founded by sGa-dam-pa bDe-gśegs śes-pa, a maternal cousin of dPal Phag-mo gru-pa. According to what had been said above, the "Great Commentary on the gSaṅ-ba sñiṅ-po" (gSaṅ-ba sñiṅ-po'i rgya-čher 'grel-pa) composed by the ācārya Ñi-ma'i 'od-kyi seṅ-ge, had originated in Khams. Therefore one has to admit that the teaching of the Lineage of Vairocana had also originated in Khams.

The Chapter dealing mainly with the Cycle of the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul rgyud). (26a)

Now about the text known as the 'Dus-pa mdo. there exist two (texts): the Mūla-Tantra-Kun-'dus rig-pa'i mdo (rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 231b) and the bśad-rgyud mDo-dgoṅs-pa 'dus-pa. In his analysis of Tantric literature, Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe quotes the mDo-sde gdams-ṅag 'bogs-pa'i rgyal-po: "O Blessed One! You have truly preached the three leading Vehicles. Why did the Blessed One not preach the Vehicle ascertaining the nature of the self-evolved Cause and Effect, without looking for enlightenment in others?" When thus asked, the Buddha replied to those who believed in the Doctrine of Cause: "After I had revolved the Wheel (of Law), the short-road of Vajrayāna will appear in the Future." The above verse seems to be contained in the mDo-dgoṅs-pa 'dus-pa'i mdo, where it is said: "You have preached the three leading Vehicles according to their (chronological) order, but you did not teach the Vehicle of Ascertainment (Ṅes-pa'i theg-pa) which is equal (to them), which has no distinction between acceptance and rejection, and which does not look for Enlightenment in others, and possesses countless excellent methods." The Lineage of the mDo: regarding it the Lord sGro-sbug-pa said: "The Lineage was transmitted through men and asuras. On the summit of Mount Malaya, the Guhyapati (gSaṅ-bdag, Vajrapāṇi) taught

(the system) to an assembly of vidyādharas, including the five holy Rigs-čan. Later (the mDo) was transmitted from ear to ear among men. Blessed by the revolving of the Wheel of the Law by Vajrapāṇi, the fortunate king Dza (Ja) saw seven dreams. The king was initiated by Vajrapāṇi and through his blessing was able to understand the meaning of sacred texts. (He preached the Doctrine) to his son Indrabodhi, Nāgabodhi and Gayabodhi. Nāgabodhi was not permitted to preach the Doctrine for nine years by the six clans of the Vasu nāgas. Indra taught it to Ku-ku-ra-dza (Kukkurarāja), the "King of Dogs" (khyi'i rgyal-po). The latter taught it to Ro-laṅs bde-ba (Vetālakṣema). The latter to Vajrahāsa (rDo-rJe bžad-pa). The latter to Prahasti (Prahasta), king of Za-hor. The latter to Śākyasimha (Śākya seṅ-ge), Śākyaprabha, and Śākyamudra. Śākyasiṃha taught it to Dhanarakṣita. The latter to Sthiramati. The latter to Sukhaprasanna (bDe-ba gsal-mdzad). The latter to Dharmabodhi and Vasudhara. (26*b*)
According to another tradition: "Dhanarakṣita was invited by Ru-čhe bTsan-skyes of Bru-ža, and he began its translation at Khrom of the country of Bru-ža (Gilgit). He was unable to complete it, as the people did not take interest in it. He then proceeded to Nepāl and taught it to Dharmabodhi and Vasudhara. Later he translated it at Khrom in the Bru-ža country. Ru Dharmabodhi, Vasudhara and the upādhyāya of Bru-ža taught it to the Lord sNubs Saṅs-rgyas. The latter to Je-bo Yon-tan rgya-mtsho. The latter to his son Ye-śes rgya-mtsho. This one taught it to rGya bLo-gros byaṅ-čhub and sNa-nam Tshul-khrims byaṅ-čhub. rGya taught it to Tho-gar (i.e. Tokharian) Nam-mkha'. The latter in his early life taught it to four persons including sNa-nam Žal-yon-po of Lho-brag. In his middle life (he taught it) to ŽubSod-śāk. In his later life (he taught it) to Lha-rJe 'Ug-pa-luṅ-pa. Again sNa-nam Tshul-khrims byaṅ-čhub taught it to the kalyāṇa-mitra Mar-čhuṅ Lho-brag-pa. Mar-pa (Mar-čhuṅ) obtained it from Lha-rJe bDe-gśegs. He met Lha-rJe Saṅs-čhuṅ-pa and Dar-ma bSod-nams at the old

college. Lha-rje Śaṅs-pa received Mar-pa with respect, and (Mar-pa) being a humble man, was pleased. Then Mar-pa bestowed it on Śaṅs-pa. I (sGro-sbug-pa) having invited Lha-rje Śaṅs-pa, requested him and he bestowed it on me". From that time on the Lineage of the mDo was handed down through the Lineage of the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul). The Venerable sGrol-ma-pa gave me the permission (luṅ) to read the text of the mDo and its commentary composed by Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes, called Mun-pa'i go-čha.

The Chapter on the school of mDo.

The story of the excellent mahāpuruṣa Čhos-kyi bzaṅ-po of Roṅ: He was the son of one called Ron-ban Rin-čhen tshul-khrims, son of Roṅ-ban Yon-tan rin-čhen. The accomplishments of his greatness are written down here according to the story composed by Yol dge-bsñen rDo-rje dbaṅ-phyug, one of his disciples. This kalyāṇa-mitra Ron-zom Čhos-kyi (27a) bzaṅ-po was famous as a great Tibetan paṇḍita. He was born at Khuṅs-roṅ on the border of Lower gTsaṅ, a subdivision (ru-lag) of one of the four Tibetan districts (ru). A short while before that time, a learned scholar called ācārya Smṛtijñānakīrti came to Khams, and translated several Tantras. He translated numerous Tantric commentaries, such as the Commentary on the Nāmasaṅgīti ('Jam-dpal mtshan-brjod-kyi bśad-'bum, Tg.rGyud, No. 2538) of Tha-ga-na (in the sDe-dge bsTan-'gyur, rGyud, No. 2538, the Commentary is ascribed to Smṛtijñānakīrti), and many sādhanas, such as the 'Jam-dpal gsaṅ-ldan (Ārya-Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṅgītisādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 2579), the 'Jig-rten snaṅ-byed zla-ba'i no-pi-ka (Tg.rGyud, No. 3584), and others. He also composed several treatises on grammar. It is said that after his death, on being reborn in Roṅ, he became this kalyāṇa-mitra. Some say: "A paṇḍita named A-tsa-ra (<ācārya) Phra-la riṅ-mo came to Khams. Having translated (into Tibetan) an extensive commentary on the gSaṅ-sñiṅ-rgyud, he taught it. After his death, he reincar-

nated as the kalyāṇa-mitra Roṅ-zom lo-tsā-ba. Again, when this great paṇḍita, endowed with great knowledge and a faculty of prescience, named Jo-bo-rJe (Atīśa) had met bLa-ma čhen-po, he said: "This Lord is the incarnation of the Indian ācārya Kṛṣṇapāda, the Great. How shall I be able to discuss the Doctrine with him?" This being (puruṣa) was known to some to have been a manifestation of the Sugata, but to most he was known to be a manifestation of Ārya-Mañjuśrī. He studied the sūtras at the age of eleven. From thirteen onwards, he became a great scholar, who had completed his studies, and became known as the "One unobscured in all branches of knowledge". He used to (27b) remark: "My studies were not insignificant, because in all branches of the Doctrine, there was nothing that I did not study. My studies were not too extensive, because it was enough for me to glance through (a text) once." This being, endowed with a vast and immaculate wisdom, was able to master (doctrines) after reading them over once or twice. In this manner he was able to master everything relating to the śāstras, unseen by him previously, the Sūtras and Tantras of the Good Law of India. He was known to have been able to master every word and meaning, and obtained the power of not-forgetting all (dhāraṇī—mindfulness). Further, he was well-versed in the treatises on worldly sciences, such as for example the works of king Canakya and others, treatises on Logic, Vedic texts, useful ślokas and poems. Because of his generous mind, he possessed the benevolent inclination of helping all men of holy character, who had faith in the Doctrine, religious men, especially to those who had entered the (Path) of Vajrayāna, and those who intended practising the realization and methods of the Mantrayāna. With the help of incontrovertible secret precepts, he used to assist them. Endowed with the faculty of prescience, knowing the proper time and measures (to be adopted) in the disciplining of living beings, with the view of establishing in Bliss in this and future lives ordinary

living beings, and those who had entered religion, he produced well-written treatises. He was tireless in helping others. He was also instrumental in establishing in Bliss ordinary living beings not converted to the Doctrine. He took them as the object of his merciful attention, free of the feelings of avarice and ill-thought. He held dear the vows and promises, as precious stones and organs of the living body. He established in these rules others also. While composing treatises, though there was no need for him to trouble himself with collection and consultation of books, he was able to quote books without any difficulty. All the treatises composed by him did not contradict scriptures, reason and the (28a) explanations given to him by his teacher. They were free from blemishes in words and meaning, and they were known to be unrefutable by other famous scholars. He is known to have been learned, without effort on his part, in Sanskrit and other languages of India, and in the science of grammar In his childhood he was attracted to every a-tsa-ra (<ācārya, in Tibet used in the sense of a yogin or itinerant sādhu) he happened to meet, and to their language. Then when he was once examining a manuscript written in the Vivarta script (Vartula), he understood its meaning without any difficulty and was even known to understand the signs and languages of animals. Therefore, it was said, that there was no one who did not receive blessing by following instructions contained in texts on Mantrayāna composed by him, without having obtained permission to read the text (luṅ). The great lo-tsā-ba in his life-time was venerated by numerous scholars of the four districts (ru-bži) of Tibet. One Go-rub lo-tsā-ba sge-sloṅ Čhos-kyi śes-rab, who was known as a learned man in the entire Doctrine, used to say derisively: "men born in Tibet have produced too many books on the Doctrine." Later, having seen the treatise on the "Introduction to the system of the Mahāyāna" by the bla-ma Roṅ-zom, a great veneration was born in him. Having offered numerous presents, he confessed his fault, and made the request to be

admitted (as a disciple), which was granted. He then heard (at his feet) many doctrines, such as the 'Jam-dpal gsaṅ-ba'i rgyud (Kg.-rÑiṅ-rgyud, No. 838) and others. Many lo-tsā-bas, such as Mar-pa Čhos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug and others, and numerous (scholars), endowed with brilliant minds, venerated him, and attended his classes. Those who attended his classes had great faith in him, and considered him to be a saintly teacher. While reading the gSan-rgyud, the precious kalyāṇa-mitra (Roṅ-zom) once said: "If we had Sanskrit books (to consult), this passage should read thus. Since there are no Indian books, we are helpless." Go-rub remembered these words, and later obtained the Indian text of the gSaṅ-rgyud, and studied it with a paṇḍita known as Lord Kṛṣna. When he discovered that the text agreed with the interpretation of the great Roṅ-po, a great faith was born in him. It is said that he presented the book obtained from Kṛṣṇa-pa to him, and (28b)
once more heard (its exposition). Further, he followed on many paṇḍitas, such as the upādhyāya Mañjuśrīvarman, Mañjuśrījñāna, Upāyaśrīmitra, Buddhākarabhadra, Devākara-candra, Parameśvara, Amoghavajra and others. He acted as the translator (of their works) and translated numerous texts including the Śrī-Vajramahābhairava-nāma-Tantra (rDo-rje 'Jigs-byed, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 468), the Sarvatathāgata-kāyavākcittakṛṣṇayamāri-nāma-Tantra (gŚin-rje-dgra-rgyud, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 467), the 'Jam-dpal sṅags-don (Tg. rGyud, No. 2533), the Abhidhāna-uttaratantra (bDe-mčhog rtsa-rgyud, Kg.rGyud-'bum, No. 369) and other texts. The translations were excellent. He also made new translations, and great was the benefit. Indian paṇḍitas used to say. "Dharmabhadra! You should write numerous treatises, and thus protect living beings. There can be no question about your other knowledge. In India, men knowing not more than a third of the treatises on grammar and Logic, mastered by you, compose treatises. You, why don't you write?" Thus endowed with excellent knowledge and free from the defilement of self-praise, he did not utter words censuring others, except

when it was strictly necessary, even though the views held by others and their practices were of a degrading natuie. I heard people saying that many had seen him circumambulating a precipitous rock. This and similar other stories were not written down by me, from fear of becoming too verbose. The accomplishments of this Holy Teacher were related by Yo dGe-bsñen rDo-rje dbaṅ-phyug according to statements made to him by others. Again according to another account: This great paṇḍita, who was known to be an incarnation, in his childhood studied under the Venerable 'Gar-ston Tshul-khrims bzaṅ-po in Lower Myan. Once, when his father Ron-ston Rin-čhen tshul-khrims had come to bring him provisions, his fellow students said: "This son of yours! His mind is becoming roguish. He is disturbing us by talking noisily. It would be better to take him away." The father reported the matter to the kalyāṇa-mitra 'Gar, and asked him whether he should take the boy away. The ācārya said: "Don't say so! He has mastered all the doctrines." At that time he was twelve. It is said that the boy while playing (29a)
with other children, used to recite by heart the teachings of his teacher, after hearing them once only. He was able to memorize them without omitting even a single word. When he was thirteen, he heard the Doctrine from the scholar mDo-ston Seṅ-ge rgyal-mtshan. One night he saw in his dream that he had prepared the gSaṅ-sñiṅ as parched barley, and the Saṅs-rgyas mñam-sbyor (Kg.rGyud-'bum, No. 366) as vegetables, and was eating them. He related the dream to his teacher, and Ru said to him: "The dream is very auspicious! It is a sign that you have penetrated the Doctrine. You should compose a commentary." Thus from the age of thirteen onwards, he became an accomplished scholar. In general, according to the saying: 'Tshur-ston dbYig-ge was learned in the Vinaya; Ye-grags was learned in the ritual; Roṅ-pa was learned in Grammar and Logic; A-pho čhos-grags himself was learned in all branches (of learning). Later, in order to fulfill his teacher's desire, he composed three (texts) con-

taining secret precepts with the object of following the three precious precepts (received by him from his teacher). In order to produce in the minds (of his disciples) the śīla-śikṣā (tshul-khrims-kyi bslab-pa) he composed the Dam-tshig mdo-rgyas. In order to produce in the minds (of others) the adhisamādhi-śikṣā (Lhag-pa tiṅ-ṅe-'dzin-gyi bslab-pa), he composed a commentary in four versions, and accompanied by 15 branches. Also a commentary on the Śrī-Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasambara-nāma-uttaratantra (mÑam-sbyor, Kg.rGyud-'bum, No 366). In order to produce in the minds (of others) the adhiprajñā-śikṣā (lhag-pa śes-rab-kyi bslab-pa), he composed the "Precepts on the Theory and Meditative Practice of the Great Achievement" (rDzogs-pa čhen-po'i lta-sgom man-ṅag) He also wrote many commentaries and treatises on the Ṅan-son sbyoṅ-rgyud (Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatejorājasya Tathāgatasya Arhato Samyaksambuddhasya kalpa-nāma, Kg.rGyud-'bum, No. 483), the Śrī-Vajrabhairava-nāma-Tantra ('Jigs-byed, rGyud-'bum, No. 468), the sMra-sgo (Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. XXVI/La/, fol. 114, Tg.sGra-mdo, No. 4295), and other texts. During this period there took place a religious debate attended by all the scholars of the four districts of Tibet, and among them Yaṅ-khyed bla-ma of Śab, Mar-pa Do-pa, U-yug-pa mÑa'-bsam-gtan, mDo'i Khyuṅ-po Hūm-sñin, Sa-khrom rGya-mtsho-'bar, mTshams-ston Go-čha, Paṅ-ka Dar-čhuṅ, 'Gos Lhas-btsas, rGya rGyal-tshul and others They intended to debate with him, holding the opinion that it was improper for persons born in Tibet to compose treatises. (29b)
After they had gone over one of his treatises and after debating the subject-matter with him, they all felt amazed, and each of them honoured him, and then listened to his exposition of the Doctrine. All admitted him as their teacher, and all worshipped him by touching (his feet) with their heads. The above account is taken from the book by gYag rDo-rje 'dzin-pa, a spiritual son of Roṅ-zom. The Lineage of this Holy Man: Roṅ-ban dPal-gyi Rin-po-čhe; his son Roṅ-ban Rin-čhen tshul-khrims; the latter's son Roṅ-zom Čhos-

kyi bzaṅ-po and sGom-čhen Čhos-'phags. The sons of Čhos-bzaṅ: gZi-brJid-'bar and 'Bum-'bar. The sons of gZi-brJid-'bar: sTon-dar and sTon-skyabs. sTon-dar's son sTon-seṅ. His son—J̌o-sras Ra-pe. His son—'Bum-dpal. The son of sTon-skyabs—J̌o-sras 'Od-zer. His son—the ācārya 'Bum-bstan. The sons of Roṅ-pa 'Bum-'bar—Čhos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, J̌o-rtsegs, J̌o-bzan and others. The son of Čhos-kyi rgyal-mtshan—Ru Ānandavajra. Ron-pa Kun-dga'. His son—the ācārya Me-dpuṅ. The latter's sons Čhos-kyi bśes-gñen and Čhos-bžad. The son of Roṅ-pa J̌o-bzaṅ—the ācārya J̌o-bkra. The latter's sons Dar-bzaṅ and rDo-rJe-brtan. The son of Dar-bzaṅ—the ācārya gSer-'od. The son of J̌o-brtan—Ñi-seṅ. His sons—'Od-zer-'bum and 'Bum-rgod. Ron's son—Čhos-'phags. The ācārya sTon-gyuṅ. His son—J̌o-sras Lhas-spuṅs. The latter's son—the ācārya Dar-ma-brtan, who was a great scholar in the Maitreya Doctrine (i.e. the five treatises of Maitreya revealed by Ārya-Asaṅga). His son—the ācārya Śra-brtan rdo-rJe. As stated above, this Roṅ-zom from his very birth was endowed with an excellent natural wisdom and a virtuous natural conduct. All contemporary scholars were filled with veneration towards him, for he was unobscured in the worldly and spiritual sciences, in the Sanskrit language and many other dialects. He also established the meaning of technical terms in Tibetan, paying proper attention to the different shades of meaning. He further mastered the different treatises, Sūtras and Tantras, and even composed treatises on secular subjects, such as agriculture, cattle-raising, and dairy-farming. He (30*a*)
also penetrated the abodes and modes of action of most of the Tibetan gods and demons. His excellent theories differed from all (other doctrines). In this Snowland of Tibet no one appeared similar to him in learning. He was the holder of numerous secret precepts belonging to the Lineages of past teachers. He thus heard the secret precepts of the ācārya Padma transmitted through the Spiritual Lineage of sNa-nam rDo-rJe bdud-'Joms and mKhar-čhen dPal-gyi dbaṅ-phyug,

Dom a-tsa-ra dPal Me-tog-sgro, rDo-rje gžon-nu, Žaṅ-žuṅ Yon-tan-grags, Roṅ-ban Yon-tan rin-čhen and so on, till Roṅ-ban Rin-čhen tshul-khrims. Further, the (Lineage) which originated with Vairocana: gYu-sgra sñiṅ-po, who taught it to bLa-čhen-po dGoṅs pa-gsal. The latter to Grum-śiṅ gLa-čan. The latter to Grum-'śiṅ gLag-čan. The latter to sNubs dPa'-brtan. The latter to Ya-zi Bon-ston. The latter to Roṅ-zom. This is one of the Lineages of the "Mind" Class (Sems-sde). At lDan gLoṅ-thaṅ sgron-ma there appeared an ascetic named A-ro Ye-śes 'byuṅ-gnas, who possessed the secret precepts of the seventh link in the chain of the Indian Lineage, as well as those of the seventh link of the Chinese Lineage of Hwa-śaṅ (ho-shang). He preached the system to Cog-ro Zaṅs-dkar mdzod-khur and to Ya-zi Bon-ston. These two taught it to Ron-zom. This (Lineage) is called the "(Lineage) of the 'Great Achievement' (rDzogs-čhen) according to the Khams method." Again, Vimala taught the Doctrine to Myaṅ Tiṅ-'dzin bzaṅ-po, as well as bestowed the secret precepts on rMa Rin-čhen-mčhog and gÑags Jñānakumāra. These two transmitted them gradually to Roṅ-zom Čhos-bzan through Khu Byaṅ-čhub-'od and Khyuṅ-po dbYig-'od. Though the dates of birth and death of this great man are, as stated above, not to be found, it is said that Atīśa on his arrival in Tibet met him. Therefore he should be regarded as being almost a contemporary of 'Gos lo-tsā-ba (rTa-nag Khug-pa Lhas-btsas), of the coming to Tibet of the latter's teacher Nag-po Dam-tshig rdo-rje, of Go-rub lo-tsā-ba, of Mar-pa Do-pa and of Yaṅ-khyed bla-ma. It is also stated that when Ma-čig Ža-ma's brother rje 'Khon-bubs (30*b*)
was thirteen, he came to him as student. The Chapter containing the story of Roṅ-zom Čhos-kyi bzaṅ-po.

Further, (the teachings) which were known by the name of the "Mental" Class (Sems-sde) of the "Great Achievement"(rDzogs-čhen): Ban-de Čhuṅ-ma-čan(<Dārika), the teacher of the ācārya Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes-žabs (Buddha-jñānapāda), was a manifestation of Mañjuśrī. The origin of

the religious system of Ye-śes-žabs (Jñānapāda), such as the Mukhāgama (Žal-gyi luṅ, Tg.rGyud, No. 1854) and other texts: The paṇḍita Śrī Siṃha studied under 'Jam-dpal bśes-gñen. Vairocana heard the Doctrine from him. Vairocana having gone to Khams, taught it extensively there. In general, (it must be said) that the Mukhāgama (Zal-luṅ) system of Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes-žabs, the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs) and the Cycle of Secret Precepts (Man-ṅag-gi-sde) show a great similarity in their doctrinal terms. When dPal-'dzin used to refute the theory of the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs), he used to say: "The name of the 'Great Achievement' (rDzogs-čhen) is not even found in the texts of the translations of the numerous Tantras, commentaries, sādhanas and secret precepts of the 'New' Mantrayāna". (This statement) only shows the narrowness of his vision, for as it is said in the 'Jam-dpal žal-luṅ (Dvikramatattvabhāvanānāma-Mukhāgama, Tg.rGyud, No. 1853): "the wisdom of the 'Great Achievement' is amassed into one body" (rDzogs-pa čhen-po ye-śes spyi gzugs-čan). Vitapāda (sMan-žabs) explained it as meaning "meditation on the Proper Object" (Ji-lta-ba'i don, i.e. on the subject of Śūnyatā; in his commentary—Caturaṅgasādhanasamantabhadrī-nāma-ṭīkā, Tg.rGyud, No. 1872). Further, the Caturaṅgasādhana-Samantabhadrī-nāma (Tg.rGyud, No. 1856) composed by Jñānapāda also mentions (the term) "Great Achievement"(rDzogs-čhen). Also because in the dṄos-grub 'byuṅ-gter (Śrī-Guhyasamājasādhanasiddhisaṃbhavanidhi-nāma, Tg.rGyud, No. 1874) composed by Vitapāda (sMan-žabs), the term "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen) is clearly mentioned. Further, in the commentary on the Mukhāgama (Žal-luṅ) there are mentioned the five organs of Power which are also found in the gSaṅ-sñiṅ. He also has stated that the above was found mentioned in an identical Mahāyoga-Tantra (therefore this Mahāyoga-Tantra /rNal-'byor čhen-po'i rgyud/ should be considered to be the gSaṅ-sñiṅ). Again in the Mukhāgama (Žal-luṅ) it is said: "Praised by all the Lamps

of the World the true nature of the essence of all the elements of existence, one who removes the poisonous waters of the Universe till the end of the Universe, is to be expounded by command of the ācārya Mañjughoṣa ('Jam-dbyaṅs) for (31a) the sake of understanding." Again in the first chapter of the eighteen divisions of the "Mental" Class (Sems-sde): "Equally praised by all teachers who had become the Lamps of the World, the essence of Mañjuśrīkumāra, which had transformed itself into the dharmagarbha of the Doctrine, and which had become the Mother of all the Sugatas, and the only path of all the Jinas, which is the foundation of the Ocean of Practice of the Pāramitās, of Morality, etc." Between this last quotation and the former great agreement appears to exist in respect of terms. Now here "which is the foundation of the Ocean of Practice of the Pāramitās, of Morality, etc."—this passage rejects the opinion of some of the followers of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen) who refuted the upāya-caryā (n. of Tantric practice). Further, as said in the Mukhāgama (Žal-luṅ). "The nature of the elements of existence, from rūpa, etc. to sarvajñā (in all 108 elements) is pure like a heavenly sphere. Its understanding represents the wisdom which does not differentiate between the Noumenal and the Phenomenal Aspects of Existence." Explaining the meaning of the above, it is said in the Grol-ba'i thig-le (Muktitilaka-nāma-vyākhyāna, Tg.rGyud, No. 1870): "Because of being free from all constructive thought, it is beyond the sphere of thought and words, similar to sky, immaculate and permeating all, known as the Noumenal nature of the Unexplainable. It possesses the form of the Mahāmudrā (Phyag-rgya čhen-po). It is similar to illusion and rainbow. It purifies one's mind and that of others. Therefore it is also known as the Pure Phenomenal Aspect." Therefore, though the followers of the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs) do not completely deny the Phenomenal Aspect (of Existence), they chiefly stress the Noumenal Aspect (of Existence). (On the other hand) the followers of the "Precept School" (Man-ṅag-

pa), though admitting the Noumenal Aspect (of Existence), mostly laid stress on the Phenomenal Aspect. Texts which belong to the kLoṅ-sde, teach the equal importance of the Noumenal and Phenomenal Aspects (of Existence). Further, the "ancient ācāryas" (slob-dpon rñiṅ-ma-pa, i.e. teachers of the "Old" Tantras) taught that the teacher (of the doctrine) was Buddhagupta (Saṅs-rgyas gsaṅ-ba), and that Vimala was his disciple. Most of the doctrines originated from these two. The ācārya Buddhagupta (Saṅs-rgyas gsaṅ-ba): he was a direct disciple of the ācārya Jñānapāda (Ye-śes-žabs), and a great (31*b*) scholar. Vairocana is said to have taught (the doctrine) on three occasions in Khams: first he taught it to rGyal-mo gYu-sgra sñiṅ-po in the hermitage of the Nātha on the rock of rGyal-mo-roṅ, then he taught it to gSaṅ-ston Ye-śes bla-ma at the hermitage of sTag-rtse-mkhar of Tsha-ba-roṅ, and to the beggar Saṅs-rgyas mgon-po at the hermitage of Brag-dmar-rdzoṅ of sToṅ-khuṅ-roṅ. Previously he had taught it to the king. Later, having gone to dbUs, he taught it to the nun La-zi Śes-rab sgron-ma. In all on five occasions. gÑags Jñāna studied them with Vairo(cana) himself and with gYu-sgra. He studied the "Later" translation with Vimala. Now gÑags: he was born to sTa-sgra-lha-snaṅ of gÑags in Yar-kluṅs and Sru-gza' sGron-ma-skyid. He became very learned after having studied with Vimala, gYu-sgra sñiṅ-po and others. Thus the four great streams of the doctrine came together: the stream of the extensive explanation of basic texts together with an abridged commentary; the stream of the precepts of Oral instruction together with primary notes; the stream of Blessing and Initiations together with (the exposition) of method and introduction (ṅo-sprod); the stream of practice and ascetic method together with the mantras which protect the doctrine. He taught to Sog-po dPal-gyi Ye-śes, Gar dPal-gyi sñiṅ-po, Lha-luṅ dPal-gyi rdo-rje, 'O-phraṅ dPal-gyi gžon-nu, sÑan-dpal-dbyaṅs, 'Tshur-nag Ye-śes-dpal, U-pa-de-gsal, Thaṅ-bzaṅs dPal-gyi rdo-rje, dGye'Phags-pa śes-

rab and to Bhu-su-ku[1] mČhog-gyi byaṅ-čhub. Then the doctrine was gradually transmitted by Sog-po to Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes. The above Lineage represents one of the schools. sPaṅs Saṅs-rgyas mgon-po, who was mentioned above: he seems to have been one and the same person with sPaṅs Mi-pham mgon-po, mentioned by the followers of rDo-rJe zam-pa (n. of a rÑin-ma commentary). Again another Lineage was described by rTsad-tsha Śāk-rdor: sPaṅs taught it to sBa Rakṣita. The latter to Ya-zi Dar-ma śes-rab. The latter to Zer-mo dge-sloṅ-ma mDe-gnas-ma. The latter to Mar-pa Śes-rab-'od. The latter having visited Lha-rJe for instruction, fell seriously ill there, and was treated by Lan-za sTon-pa Dar-ma bSod-nams of Śans. In return he taught the latter the rDo-rJe me-lon (a rÑiṅ-ma work), the Lam-rnam-bkod (a rÑin-ma work), the Secret Precepts of Initiation (Zab-mo dban-gi man-ṅag), the Commentary on the mDo Lun-stan rdo-rJe (a rÑiṅ-ma work) and the complete collection of texts belonging to the 'Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs). Mar-pa Śes-rab-'od transmitted them to sGro-sbug-pa. The latter transmitted them to Śākya rdo-rJe. Again according to another account: Vimala himself bestowed on J̌o-mo sGre-mo the bśad-rgyud of the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul), such as the sGyu-'phrul thal-ba (rÑiṅ-ma'i dkar-čhag, fol. 233*a*) and other texts. She transmitted them to Mar-pa Śes-rab-'od. The latter transmitted it to Laṅs-ston. If so, J̌o-mo Zer-mo and J̌o-mo sGre-mo seem to have been one and the same person. I have given a brief description of the greatness of these teachers belonging to this Lineage, in order to remove the great sin committed by fools who wrongly understood the Doctrine (i.e. attacked the rÑiṅ-ma-pas). I myself belong to the Lineage, the teaching of which was transmitted from gSaṅ-bdag (Guhyapati) mṄa'i-tsha Hor-po to 'Gro-mgon Dam-pa Śāk-rgyal, mkhas-pa lČe-ston and son, the bla-ma Thaṅ-ston 'Bum-me, the Dharma-svāmin bLa-skyabs rdo-rJe, Drin-čhen mkhas-pa čhen-po, mKha'-gro dPal-gyi ye-śes, Ma-gčig drin-čan Zur-mo, Zur-mo (32*a*)

1 A Tantric ascetic.

dGe-'dun-'bum, and so to the Venerable Saṅs-rgyas rin-čhen-pa. I did not attend lectures on the "Mental" Class, except for (listening) to the Eighteen Initiations into the Power of the Mind (Rig-pa'i rtsal-dbaṅ), and the permission (luṅ) of the Kun-byed rgyal-po'i rgyud (rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 228*a*), which was transmitted as stated above. Notwithstanding this, I was filled with a great reverence (for the "Mental" Class). The Chapter on the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs).

Among the texts belonging to the kLoṅ-gi sde of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen), the Nam-mkha'i daṅ mñam-pa'i rgyud čhen-po (rDo-rJe sems-dpa' nam-mkha'i mtha' daṅ mñam-pa'i rgyud čhen-po, rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 229*a*) contains nine "spheres" (kLoṅ) in regard to its subject-matter and 20,000 paragraphs in regard to its text (this means that the Tantra was divided into nine spheres or kLoṅ, and the number of words in the Tantra was divided into 20,000 bam-pos /one bam-po—about 500 ślokas/). The 20,000 bam-pos mentioned above, represent books found in the hands of ascetics (siddha-puruṣa), a complete translation of which is not available. The subject-matter of the "Lesser" Nam-mkha'i daṅ mñam-pa'i rgyud contains nine kLoṅ or "Spheres": 1/ the Sphere of the Doctrine (lTa-ba'i kloṅ), 2/ the Sphere of Practice (sPyod-pa'i kloṅ), 3/ the Sphere of the Maṇḍala (dKyil-'khor-gyi kloṅ), 4/ the Sphere of Initiations (dBaṅ-gi kloṅ), 5/ the Sphere of the Vow (Dam-tshig-gi kloṅ), 6/ the Sphere of Meditation (sGrub-pa'i kloṅ), 7/ the Sphere of Action (Phrin-las-kyi kloṅ), 8/ (32*b*)
the Sphere of the Path and Stages (Sa-lam-gyi kloṅ) and 9/ the Sphere of the Result ('Bras-bu'i kloṅ). From the 13th to the 19th chapter, each chapter deals with one Sphere. Further, the precepts of rDo-rJe zam-pa, according to the Lineage of Ye-śes gsaṅ-ba and others, were bestowed by Vairocana on sPaṅs Mi-pham mgon-po, when the latter had reached the age of eighty-five. Because of his advanced age and ailing body, he used to keep his body erect

with the help of the meditative string (sgom-thag) and support (sgom-rten). In order to help him memorize the secret precepts, he was given small pieces of wood to assist him in counting (tshul-śiṅ). Formerly, in his youth he did not practise religion, now having grown old, he became displeased with his retinue and relatives. Following his teacher's advice, he practised meditation, and perceived the meaning of non-origination (skye-ba med-pa). Full of joy, he embraced his teacher's neck and for a whole day did not let it go. After practising meditation, he is said to have lived for over a hundred years. His disciple was Ṅan-lam Byaṅ-čhub rgyal-mtshan, who was a native of dbU-ru Ṅan-lam Ral-gsum. As a monk of sixty-seven, he proceeded towards the fort of rGyal-mo sTag-rtse, and obtained instructions from sPaṅs Mi-pham mgon-po. sPans said to him "Do not go to your native place, but proceed to the Wa-sen-ge rock and meditate there!" He went there. His disciple known as Za-ṅam Rin-čhen-dbyig was a native of Upper Amdo. He obtained instructions from Ṅan-lam. He remained with his teacher on the Wa-seṅ-ge ("Fox and Lion") rock. His disciple was Čhos-kyi khu-'gyur gsal-ba'i mčhog of Yar-kluṅs. As a monk of fifty-seven, he obtained instructions from Za-ṅam. He stayed on the Waseṅ-ge rock and did not go to Upper (Tibet). Ṅan-lam Byaṅ-čhub rgyal-mtshan on reaching the age of 172, passed away without leaving behind his physical body. Za-ṅam Rin-čhen-dbyig on reaching the age of 144, also passed away without leaving his body behind. Khu-'gyur gsal-ba'i-mčhog on reaching the age of 117, passed away without leaving behind his physical body. These three passed away one after the other, in the year of the Serpent (sbrul-lo) on the rock of Wa-seṅ-ge. They (33a)
passed away, their bodies having vanished like mist or rainbow. His disciple was Myaṅ Byaṅ-čhub-grags, a native of Upper gYu-'brug of Myaṅ. When he was a monk of forty-two, he obtained instructions from Khu-'gyur gsal-ba'i mčhog and visited (Tibet). When he was at bSam-yas 'Čhims-phu, there resided an elderly monk named Myaṅ Śes-rab'byuṅ-gnas of dbU-ru-

žwa, who said to him: "Though I am your senior in ordination, you are greater in the secret precepts, please be my teacher!" He then bestowed instructions on Myaṅ Śes-rab 'byuṅ-gnas. Myaṅ Byaṅ-čhub-grags. while he was residing on the great mountain of Phuṅ-po in rGya-ma ne'u-kha of gTsaṅ, his body (was seen) once disappearing above the slope of the mountain, similar to a scattered cloud. Myaṅ Śes-rab 'byuṅ-gnas used to reside at 'Čhims-phu, sGrags-kyi Yaṅ-rdzon and Phug-po-čhe. In the end, when he was residing in a small cave called Zur-ra-ri at Phug-po-čhe, he hung his rosary, garment and kapāla on a solitary Juniper tree, standing on the summit of Phug-po-čhe lha-ri, and vanished without leaving behind his physical body. His disciple was the ācārya sBa-sgom, who was a native of Lo-mo, and belonged to the sBa clan. When a civil war broke out in his native country, his mother said to his father. "This son is the only brother of six sisters. He should be entrusted to the care of the ācārya Myan Śes-rab 'byuṅ-gnas. It is enough (for us) to know him living (even if he were to become a priest)." While sBa-sgom, who was aged sixteen, was being brought up by Myaṅ, there came to Phug-po-čhe Yaṅ-rdzon and 'Čhims-phu, Myaṅ Byaṅ-čhub grags-pa leading a deer, and because of this he was called "Myaṅ with a deer" (Myan śa-ba-čan). When Śes-rab 'byuṅ-gnas and sBa-sgom came to Phug-po-čhe, Myaṅ said to them "To you two I shall make a demonstration. Behold it!" The ācārya Śes-rab 'byun-gnas and sBa-sgom looked at him, from right and left, and he, staying between the two, disappeared, and then transformed (33b)
himself into a whirlwind of the size of a cubic, which moved hitherto and whitherto, and then transformed itself into fire. Then again he transformed himself into water which filled a brass basin used in offerings (gtor-ma). This (exhibition of miraculous powers) continued until dusk when he suddenly assumed his own form, and said: "So long as the gross elements were not purified, and the fine (elements) did not disappear, such phenomena could take place. For one, who

had understood the object which cannot be meditated upon, when he practises without distraction meditation on the names (of objects, brda-kun-rdzobs), it is not difficult to obtain such power as shown (to you now). Therefore it is of the greatest importance to meditate without any distraction." Once, when sBa-sgom had gone to the forest of Bal-bu to gather fuel-wood, he saw Śes-rab 'byuṅ-gnas' grass-hut aflame. sBa-sgom thinking: "What could it be, for the teacher did not light his fire?" went to see. (When he came to the hut) he saw that there was nothing. He asked the teacher: "What happened?", and the teacher replied: "I had meditated on myself as being fire. Don't you remember the exhibition (of magic power) by Myan Byan-čhub grags-pa?" After that, once again he saw the teacher's mat filled with water, and the teacher said: "In my absence gaze on the summit of Lha-ri." Then, when the teacher had gone for a walk on the mountain, he did not come back in the evening as expected. sBa-sgom went to see, and discovered that the teacher had passed away without leaving his physical body behind. It is said that his garment, hat and rosary made of po-dhi-či (=bo-dhi-rtsi, a rosary made of peepul wood. See S. C. Das' Dictionary, p. 877) were found hanging on a Juniper tree. When sBa-sgom Ye-śes byaṅ-čhub had reached the age of twenty-four, he obtained secret precepts from Myaṅ. When sBa-sgom was residing at the small cave of Zu-ra-ri, a young novice attended on him, and 'Dzeṅ (Dharmabodhi) came to see him. In general, sBa-sgom Ye-śes byaṅ-čhub, remained an upāsaka (dge-bsñen) during (his life- time), and died at the age of ninety-eight without being ill. His wife Gar-mo did not allow people to pray before his body, but cremated it inside the temple. A light of the size of a jar rose to the sky, and was seen by people standing outside (the temple). No remains were left behind.

'Dzeṅ: his father was called bKra-śis gyuṅ-druṅ. On (34a)
taking ordination in later life, he received the name of Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan. At the age of sixty-seven, he obtained

the realization of the system of Phur-bu Ur-nan (n. of a rÑiṅ-ma system belonging to the Vajrakīla Cycle). He had a vision of rDo-rJe gžon-nu (Vajrakumāra),[1] and passed away at the age of eighty-five. His remains (on cremation) assumed the form of Vajrakumāra, and of many other relics. His mother named 'Tshar-dgu gza'-skyid was a nun of Thaṅ-čhuṅ of Yar-kluṅs. When the eldest son of the king of Thaṅ-čhuṅ forced her to abandon her vows, 'Dzeṅ was born. Some say that after the birth of 'Dzen, the king of Thaṅ-čhuṅ came there. Till the age of eight, he remained at the place of his maternal uncle at 'Tshar-dgu kluṅs. After that he stayed at Goṅ-po dben-tsha. Then for five years, he resided at sKyi-khuṅ. When he reached the age of sixteen, he in company with rDo-rJe sñiṅ-po, a servant of gTsaṅ-pa Ral-gčig-ma, the teacher of his maternal uncle dŚen-tsha Darma-'od, Jo-śo-re, and gÑags dGe-ba-'bar, proceeded for trading to gDon-sna of Dol. At 'Tshar-'tshur of Dol they saw a crowd which had gathered, and when they went to see (what was happening), they met Dam-pa rGya-gar. For four months they attended on Dam-pa. On reaching gÑas-gži Zaṅs-čan of gTsaṅ, Dam-pa gave 'Dzeṅ a piece of cloth, and said: "You are of a changing mind! Return to your native place, and bring some apricots from Dags-po. There is (for you) a companion to Dol." After 'Dzeṅ had started off, Dam-pa suddenly rushed after him, and having grasped 'Dzeṅ's jaws with his hands, said: "This was transformed from nothing. With regard to this transformation, there is no difference between subject and object," saying so, he knocked twice his head against 'Dzeṅ's. The latter without remembering anything, felt that his consciousness had become clear. Foam came out of his mouth. Then Dam-pa blessed him. 'Dzeṅ used to say that Dam-pa had prophesied his finding rDo-rJe zam-pa, which till (34b)
then was not understood by him. Dam-pa then bestowed on him some auspicious ceremonies and (explained to him) the

1 A form of Vajrakīla.

essence of mantras. At rGya-ro 'Tshal-ma he bestowed on him the secret precepts of the "Six Letters" formula (Oṃ-Maṇi-Padme-hūṃ). ('Dzeṅ) meditated and obtained an an extraordinary blessing. Dam-pa once uttered to him a prophecy: "To the East of this great river, there is a sandal-wood forest. In it resides your teacher!" ('Dzeṅ) having proceeded to dbUs, presented a field to A-khu dPal-'bal, and obtained (from him) the secret realization of Khrag-thuṅ (Heruka), and dPe-dkar. From sNubs the "Big-nosed" (Śaṅs-po-čhe), he obtained the sādhana of the Kriyā (Tantra), and the "Great Offering" (gtor-čhen) of Kha-'bar-ma (Jvala-mukhī). Having been sent to convey presents to Ba ri in gTsaṅ, he obtained from him the Mañjuśrī and Garuḍa sādhanas. From the kalyāna-mitra sBo he obtained five ancient translations. After that he proceeded down to Ṅams-śod and visited lČaṅ-rtsigs. He was thirty-five at that time. Soon after that, the kalyāṇa-mitra bTsaṅ Kha-bo-čhe, who had just come to La-kha of Phug-po-čhe from India, where he was invited by J̌o-mo-ba. It is said that there were (preaching) of religion, food, and festivities. When next morning, he proceeded to La-kha, a woman said to him: "If you go by this road which leads from Khrab, there is one ācārya named sBa-sgom, who feeds beggars." He went there, and on the way came across a company of yogins. sBa-sgom was offering them soup and gave each one of them a brass spoon of flour. When sBa-sgom had finished distributing food to them, he said: "O! There is another yet!" and he made 'Dzeṅ take a vase full of water. Then having made the water offering, he led him into the house, and offered him a cupful of vegetables and peas. After having been given food in the night, 'Dzeṅ went to sleep at the foot of a rock. In the morning, while he was thinking about the necessity of going, sBa-sgom again gave him food, and said: "I have a young novice who has gone to collect new provisions to Zo-thuṅ. Because of heavy rain, he did not come back. Fetch some wood!" Having

brought from the forest a large load of dry wood, sBa-sgom became pleased and imparted to him the secret precepts of the sign of the Mahāmudrā. He also explained (to him) the "Seven Natural Cycles of the Great Achievement" (rDzogs-pa-čhen-po skor-bdun raṅ-čhas). When the novice returned, he said: "I thought that the teacher must have experienced some trouble yesterday, but you made yourself useful. (35a)
Please stay for several days more!" Again the novice proceeded towards Yar-kluṅs, and then came back. Then 'Dzen (the story of 'Dzeṅ is found on fol. 83a of the rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag) recognized sBa-sgom to be a wonderful man, and instead of going to his native place, collected all the early harvest as far as 'On and Zaṅs-ri, and having bought a sack, he filled it with barley, and offered it to the ācārya sBa-sgom, who said: "Since you have served me, there is no need to offer me this. Take this as your own provision. I possess a secret precept called rDo-rJe zam-pa. Having understood its meaning for one single moment only, one is able to attain Enlightenment in this life. It was transmitted down an uninterrupted Lineage of Teachers who had passed away without leaving their physical bodies behind. Till the present day I haven't imparted it to anyone, and have kept it secret. Now I shall impart it to you!"—"This I had offered to you, Teacher, already before", said 'Dzeṅ, "pray impress upon me this precept! I can get (other) provisions for myself." Thereupon the teacher touched his head with his left hand, and with his right hand he tapped him on the shoulder, saying: "You of broad mind! You have kept your vow! You will benefit by this precept!" Then 'Dzeṅ bestowed the sādhana of the Red Yamarī on a Tantric from Lo-čhuṅ, who offered him eight measures of barley mixed with peas. He also used to perform occasionally rites at Lo-mo and 'Phruṅ, and thus obtained sufficient provisions. The teacher bestowed on him all the doctrines, except that of rDo-rJe zam-pa, for 'Dzeṅ had no provisions with which to perform the rite, and therefore could not make

the request for it. The teacher said: "I shall now give you my blessing, for later an accident might happen." Then 'Dzeṅ proceeded to Gaṅs-par to ask a friend to pay the price of a picture (our text, fol. 35b, has ba-ri-mo; in the rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 83b, it is said: Gaṅs-par-du grogs-po-gčig-las ri-mo-gčig bčol-ba'i rin sloṅ-du phyin-pas......), which he had kept in his care. The latter gave him a petticoat (śam-thabs) which he had obtained as booty from a native of Jo-mo. He cut it into pieces and sold it. Then he offered the teacher wine, offerings, five measures of barley, one carcass of meat, and requested the teacher that "the day should be substituted for the lamp" (meaning that the initiation should be performed during the day, instead as usually during the night, as he was unable to offer an offering lamp). The teacher then bestowed on 'Dzeṅ the complete four initiations of the Path of Emancipation, as well as the complete secret precepts. After that he also bestowed on him blessings on four occasions. He then offered him on five occasions barley, gold, etc. After that, the ācārya sBa-sgom (35*b*)
had a lady-attendant named lady Gaṅ-mo. Once the teacher said to her. "I do not believe that visual objects have a true existence," and saying so, he struck with his hand a water-stone (čhu-rdo, a blue coloured stone, perhaps schist), and his hand penetrated the stone up-to the elbow. He then pulled his body backwards and it entered a rock, and the trace of it could be clearly seen afterwards. He conveyed numerous beams of Juniper wood from Phug-čhuṅ-roṅ by the power of his concentrated mind, and said: "Here is the timber for the construction of the chapel by you, lady!" From sBa-sgom he obtained the "straight" and the "circuit" paths of the Pāramitās (Pha-rol-du phyin-pa-i lam rkyaṅ-khug), according to the method of Atīśa, as well as the secret precepts of Rāmapāla. At U-yog he obtained the Ṣadaṅga Yoga of the Kālacakra (Dus-'khor-gyi sbyor-drug) from Yu-mo (the founder of the Jo-naṅ-pa sect) at the request of the kalyāṇa-mitra Hab. After that he journeyed to dbU-ru. From Kham-pa-luṅ-pa

(a disciple of Atīśa) he obtained the Thun-brgyad-ma (n. of a bKa'-gdams-pa doctrine), and from a disciple of sNe'u-zur-pa—the dMigs-pa skor-gsum, the sādhana of Gaṇapati, and the precepts removing disease. He again paid a visit to Phug-po-čhe, and sBa-sgom bestowed on him the bDud-rtsi'i bčud-len, and the sādhana of rDo-rje zam-pa (a precept book of the rÑiṅ-ma sect). He practised austerities at the school of sPyan-sña rnal-'byor-pa and the latter was greatly satisfied with him. From Śod-bu lo-tsā-ba he heard the Sphuṭārthā ('grel-čhuṅ, i.e. the Abhisamayalāṃkāra-nāma-prajñāpāramito-padeśaśāstravṛtti, by Haribhadra,Tg.Śez-phyin, No. 3793). From the kalyāṇa-mitra dGrol-sgom he obtained the Path of Method (upāyamārga) of Nā-ro-pa. In return he taught him the rDo-rje zam-pa method. From Lha-rje sÑi-sgom he obtained the Six Doctrines of Nā-ro-pa, and the sKyes-sbyor (Lhan-čig skyes-sbyor, n. of a bKa'-brgyud-pa doctrine). They then exchanged ideas on their respective theories, and he became very pleased. From So-bsñun-gdaṅs he obtained the "sGron-sprul" and the "rGyab-śa". From rDza-bor-pa he obtained the "Three Drops of Amṛta" (bDud-rtsi thigs-gsum). From Ri-khrod rluṅ-čhuṅ the "rNa-brgyud tshig-gsum". From the bla-ma rLuṅ-dam-pa-čhen-po the Precepts of Dohā. From Labs-sgron the "Sphere of gČod" (gČod-yul). From rGyal-ba sPo-ston the seven chapters of the Lhun-sgrub sde. From sNubs, the "Big-nosed" (Śaṅs-po-čhe), the fifteen kriyā-dharmas of Ba-ri lo-tsā-ba. At La-stod he obtained from the Bodhisattva Kun-dga' some secret precepts and the sādhana of Aparājita. He associated himself with an a-tsa-ra (<ācārya) called sTag-śam-čan, the bla-ma dbU-ltebs (bla-ma dbU-'dren-pa, see rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 84a), and with many other excellent yogins of the period, such as the bla-ma Thuṅ-kha-'bar, the bla-ma Drod-'byor and Žaṅ Bro-sñon. During five years he wandered about gTsaṅ naked, and performed in the company of yogins various (yogic) practices, such as jumping (from a height) into ice and water, jumping into abysses, striking one's head (at rocks) and self-immolation. There did

not exist a severe form of asceticism which he did not practise (rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 84*a* : dgun-la 'khyags-pa'i rum/ dbyar čhu-bo'i gžuṅ). He was called the "Hero 'Dzeṅ, the Junior" (dPa'-bo 'Dzeṅ čhuṅ-ba). To So Maṅ-btsan he taught the Mahāmudrā (Phyag-rgya čhen-po). His illusions vanished and all seemed him to belong to the Noumenal Aspect only. To dÑul-mo rGyal-le-lčam he explained the Yi-ge bži-pa (i.e. the Anuttara), and the secret precepts of the "Great Achievement" (rDzogs-čhen), and she became one who had abandoned all worldly laws and was beyond the human state. He also imparted precepts to Ri-khrod kLuṅ-čhuṅ-pa and dÑul-mo rGyal-le-lčam, and to a nun who had gone to the Lake Mon-kha zer-mo. He also imparted precepts to the Khams-pa who had come to mTsho-rdzoṅ in Koṅ-po, and they passed away without leaving behind their physical bodies (see rÑiṅ-rgyud dkar-čhag, fol. 84*b*, where it is said that the nun had vanished on the shore of the Lake Mon-kha zer-mo). Having imparted precepts to Ras-pa sGom-thag, Śo-ras, rGya-ras, rLuṅ-ras and others, the Inner Heat (drod-'bar-ba) of their bodies increased, and some of them, by merely hearing his doctrine, attained simultaneously understanding and deliverance. He used to say: "Before me appeared four translators, many monks, great scholars, proud and full of self praise, male and female meditating ascetics. The results of the proper practice (of my precepts) need not be mentioned. At Dags-po alone eleven lay-brothers were able to fix the time of their passing after a short practice (of precepts). At the time of passing out, they felt no pains, and rainbows were seen entering their bodies. If one were to practise these precepts of mine for five or six years, as parents bringing up a child, or as a wool-cleaner washing wool, then one would surely not have to leave one's human body behind, and would attain the state of the vanishing (of the physical body)." At times he transformed his body into a spherical rainbow. At times he used to walk without touching the ground with his feet. At times he was able to cover great distances within a single moment and

return. He possessed the faculty of prescience. For example, he perceived the time of the passing of Dar-re at dbU-ru, and that of sPur-sgom and dPal-lčam Čhos-'bar, as well as of Ril-pa and others. He perceived the son of Jo-sras-ma rDo-rJe-skyid sleeping at mid-night and about to fall down from a verandah. He saw also a needle used in sewing a crown (čod-pan) fall down into chaff at night. He was able to see clearly both by day and by night. Later, after spending seven years in gTsaṅ, he came down and proceeded to Phug-po-čhe. The ācārya sBa-sgom bestowed on him the rNa-brgyud tshig-gsum, and said: "Understand this sky! If you are able to understand it as having no foundation, then you will be able to drive in the great nail of meaning of the Unthinkable (sgom-med)." Following these words an extraordinary (sensation) of certitude was born in him. Then he stayed at Dags-po Žu-ru, and attended on the bla-ma Žal-gdams-pa and obtained from him the precepts of Gu-bži-pa, the sDe-bskor bdun-pa and the Thun-sgrub. For four years he practised at the monastery of Lha-zur of Žu-ru the "Four Symbols" (brDa-bži), and was able to penetrate all the doctrines. His mind became merged into the sky, and all objects seemed to him devoid of Dualism. It was unnecessary for him to pronounce words expressing good wishes, such as "May it be!" (gyur-čig), or "May it come!" (śog-čig). Of a lucid mind, he had a vision of Heruka. He obtained the faculty of prescience without striving for it. Now the story of his austerities and of his attendance on teachers: After securing the rDo-rJe zam-pa,[1] he practised austerities according to the Cycle of bDud-rtsi (Amṛta) at Phug-po-čhe, and gradually grew fearless. In the presence of sNubs, "the Big-nosed" (Śaṅs-po-čhe), he performed the penance of service to the teacher. Because of this, wherever he went, he was looked after by the Guru. He performed the penance of mind at the feet of Dam-pa rGya-gar, and thus mastered all (36b)

1 A rÑiṅ-ma system of mental concentration.

doctrines. At sKyi-luṅ he performed the penance which consisted in repeating the (Vajra)kīla mantras, and as a result of it all gods and demons of this world obeyed his command. He practised the austerities of self-supression at a bKa'-gdams-pa establishment, and was loved by people wherever he went. He then performed the penance of the "Three Restlessnesses" (mi-sdod-pa) on the Yi-ge bži-pa (in most cases the term Yi-ge bži-pa in Tantric books signifies either the formula "evaṃ mayā," or the word "A-nu(t)-ta-ra"). The Inner Heat (drod) was produced inside his body, and for five years he wandered about naked. He felt that yogic insight was born in him, and he meditated at Phag-mo mṅon-'byuṅ and to the west of 'Gur-mo, and had a vision of the Venerable One (rJe-btsun-ma, here Vajravārahī), who bestowed on him numerous symbols. In the narrow valley of sNubs-yul, he practised the method of dreams (this practice (37a) belongs to the "Six Doctrines" of Nā-ro-pa), and perceived all visual objects to be dreams. On one occasion he and his wife went to collect fire-wood. When taking back a big load, they came accross a wide abyss. He thought that the abyss must be a dream, and having jumped, he alighted on the other side of the abyss, like a bird. His wife said to him: "Teacher you seem to be unhuman! I remember Dam-pa rGya-gar (performing such miracles)." He practised meditation on the rock of O-dkar, and had a vision of Saṃvara in the yuganaddha (yab-yum) attitude. On one occasion he felt an urge to go away, and went. He reached the great town of Mon-'gar, which stood on a freshly frozen river, and thought: "Now most probably I shall not sink into water (if I cross it)," and took a jump. But the ice broke under him, and he fell (into the water), and felt ashamed. But the crowd wondered how could anyone in mid-winter stand (the ice-cold) water. His body entered the ice-cold water like a red-hot iron, and emitted a sizzling sound. He himself saw a column of vapour surging forth, which could fill the sky, and said: "I felt cold, of course." He then proceeded to Ti-sgro of gZo,

and in a cave of rock crystal, he had a vision of Vajrāmṛta-kuṇḍalin (Khro-bo bdud-rtsi 'khyil-ba). A demon paid great homage to him. He saw here and there the form of a monk flying through the sky, and went in search of him, but was unable to find him, and said that he did not know whether this was a man, or not. At Dags-po Žu-ru he meditated on A-Ji, and obtained a vision (of the deity) about mid-day. When he was thinking that he should intermingle his vows with the god, his wife phayl-le came in. The god said: "O married man!" and having transformed himself into a great light, the god disappeared into the sky. At Lha-zur when he was engaged in hunger Practice (bčud-len-gyi sgrub-pa, a practice consisting of abstention from food, and subsistence on water or certain herbs during prescribed periods. The Wu-t'ai-shan monastery was famous for this method of penance), he had a vision of Amitābha, and understood the purity of many doctrines. He then separated from the lady Phyal-le, and befriended Čhos-skyid, and went towards 'Dzin. Till then his precepts did not spread, and those on whom he had bestowed precepts were few. He also taught some black magic, and used to perform the rite of gathering donations from a village, as well as practised secret night rites (gsaṅ-spyod). Then after having received many requests from distant places, his precepts spread greatly. He was invited by sBal-bu Dor-la to Do-po-mkhar, and imparted precepts. On the morning of the first day, all saw a rainbow in the shape (37*b*)
of a parasol, a diagram and a column, and paid homage to him. After finishing preaching, he proceeded for a rest to the mountain slope, and people asked him: "This rainbow does it not indicate your passing away? We feel worried." He replied that when 'Bar-ston Śes-rab grags-pa and his brother had obtained these secret precepts from the ācārya sBa-sgom, the valley af Ňams-śod and the mountain slope of Phug-mo were filled (with rainbows). (Such miracles) were inherent in these precepts. While he was residing at 'Dzin, Jo-sras 'Dzeṅ came to his place. He was staying at the mouth

of a gorge, near a stūpa, on the western side. When Jo-sras 'Dzeṅ approached his hermitage, he (at first) did not notice the teacher, but (perceived) a light of the size of a shield from gTsaṅ, which vanished when he drew nearer. He then inquired: "What was it?" and the teacher said: "This happens during mental concentration, but do not tell it to men." He used to say: "When A-Jo dṄos-grub fell ill with leprosy, I used to mutter mantras and attend on him, but his leprosy was not cured. Instead I had a vision of Vajrapāṇi. It is laughable!" At the age of 102, he fell ill. When his attendants were thinking that the teacher would pass away, he said to them: "I had an auspicious dream last night. I shall not die! (I saw) myself residing on Po-re of rGya. The Sun and Moon were visible, and numerous women were (seen) sitting on the roofs of huts (made) of bones, who addressed (me) with the words: 'O guru 'Dzeṅ! You come after four years.' 'Dzeṅ further said: "I was told to live for many years, but was unable to say correctly my age." The kalyāṇa-mitra Hab Jo-sras 'Jam-dpal of sKyi-khuṅ said: "The ascetic 'Dzeṅ is still living in Dags-po! We two, when young, were friends. He is about fifteen years older than I. Now, I myself have also reached the age of ninety-seven." He passed away in the course of one year. 'Dzeṅ lived for about three years (after him), and reached the age of 117. His attendants asked him to perform a meritorious act (dge-rtsa), but he did not agree to perform a ceremonial meritorious (38a) act. They then requested him to make an elixir, but he said: "If I make an elixir (bčud-len), my life will be extended by about ten years. In evil times does one need a long life?" and saying so, he passed away. During the performance of the funeral rites, the sky was filled with rainbows, and a stūpa and numerous other relics were left (after him). In his "Life" (rnam-thar) composed by Go-ri-pa, it is said that 'Dzeṅ Dharmabodhi was born in the year of the Dragon ('brug-lo—1052 A.D.). In another biography it is said

that when 'Dzeṅ was thirty-five, he met bTsan Kha-bo-čhe, who had just come from India. If one compares these two statements, one sees that this Dragon year must be the Water-Male-Dragon (čhu-pho-'brug—1052 A.D.) which is close to the Wood-Male-Horse year (śiṅ-pho-rta—1054 A.D.) of the passing of Atīśa. In the year Wood-Sheep (śiṅ-lug—1055 A.D.), when 'Dzeṅ was four, rMa-sgom Chos-kyi śes-rab was born. When he was five, in the year Fire-Ape (me-spre—1056 A.D.) Rwa-sgreṅ was founded. Then, when he was nine, in the year Wood-Dragon (śiṅ-'brug—1064 A.D.) 'Brom passed away. The year of his death at the age of 117 must be the Earth-Male-Mouse year (sa-pho-byi-ba—1168 A.D.), In the next Earth-Female-Ox year (sa-mo-glaṅ—1169 A.D.) Phyā-ba (Chos-kyi seṅ-ge) passed away. In this year gYa'-bzaṅ Chos-rJe was born also. In the next Iron-Tiger year (lčags-stag—1170 A.D.) 'Gro-mgon died (rDo-rJe rgyal-po Phag-mo gru-pa, 1110-1170 A.D.). When 'Dzeṅ had reached the age of eleven, in the year Water-Tiger (čhu-stag—1062 A.D.) So-čhuṅ-pa was born. He is reported to have made presents to Ba-ri (lo-tsā-ba), and therefore he seems to have been born when Ba-ri and the Venerable Mid-la were thirteen. Hab Jo-sras 'Jam-dpal, a native of gÑos-skyi-khuṅ, and a disciple of Yu-mo (Jo-naṅ-pa) used to say that 'Dzeṅ was by fifteen years older than he. Thus gÑos must have been born in the year Fire-Female-Sheep (me-mo-lug—1067 A.D.), the 41st year since the last year of the period of 403 years (me-mkha' rgya-mtsho; the last year /'das-lo/ of the period of 403 years is the year 1027 A.D.). He is said to have reached the age of ninety-eight. His disciple was Ṅor-rJe. This latter's disciple was Dol-pa Rab-tu dga'-ba'i rdo-rJe. Since the time of 'Dzeṅ Dharmabodhi the Oral Precepts (sÑan-brgyud) of rDo-rJe zam-pa were extensively propagated. Now the Lineage of direct disciples (dṅos-kyi slob-ma) which originated from him: the ācārya Kun-bzaṅs, 'Dzeṅ Jo-sras, bTsan thaṅ-pa, (38b)
Myaṅ Dharmasiṃha, the ācārya gSer-luṅ-pa, the bla-ma

Ṅu rDo-rJe-rgyan, gZig Ye-śes dbaṅ-po and gYag-ston Zla-ba 'od-zer, and others. Now his disciple 'Dzeṅ Jo-sras: A son of a Tantric, he learnt writing and arithmetics in his childhood. He obtained from Lha-rig-pa, the ācārya of 'Ol-kha, various classes of rÑiṅ-ma books, such as the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) Cycle, the dGyes-rdor (Hevajratantrarāja-nāma, Kg.rGyud-'bum, No. 417) and the mTshan-brJod (Mañjuśrī-jñānasattvasya paramārthanāmasaṅgīti, Kg.rGyud-'bum, No. 360). The ācārya Lha-rig-pa said to him at the time of his death: "I had studied numerous great basic texts, but at the hour of death none are of any assistance to me, except the 'Seven Chapters of A-ro' (A-ro thun-bdun). Therefore, you also shouldn't study texts, but should study earnestly secret precepts. At Dags-po you will find your teacher named 'Dzeṅ. Go there!" He then spent six summers and winters at Gaṅ-par at the residence of ācārya Zem, who was a follower of rDzogs-čhen lhun-grub, but that teacher did not care for him. As he was unable to remove his doubts concerning the secret precepts, he on three occasions requested 'Dzeṅ at dPal-luṅ (to grant him) the rDo-rJe zam-pa, and having received the teacher's blessing, he practised meditation. The teacher said to him: "You should go towards gTsaṅ, and study the basic precepts. On return from gTsaṅ you should built a monastery." He understood that the teacher would not give him the precepts (of rDo-rJe zam-pa), and asked him: "Who knows (the precepts)?" The teacher replied: "sPyil Jo-sras Žaṅ-ba-skyabs of Gra-phyi knows them." When he was about to meet him, and ask him (for instruction in the precepts), the latter passed away. Again he went to Dags-po, and again requested 'Dzeṅ, but the latter again did not grant them. Then he thought of asking Myaṅ of bTsan-thaṅ, Dags-čhuṅ-ba of 'Ol-kha and Ṅu-gčer-bu. At So-skyam he made his request to the ācārya Ṅu, and the latter bestowed them (on him), and said: "These are not enough! Go again to Dags-po, and again request him ('Dzeṅ)." He proceeded to Dags-po

and again made his request to 'Dzeṅ. The latter said: "If you desire in real earnest, you should practise deligently my precepts" and bestowed on him the complete instructions (in the rDo-rJe zam-pa). He then spent several summers and winters with the teacher. After the lapse of six years, (39a)
the teacher gave him the minor (precepts) also. He also acted as karma-ācārya during the initiation of others. About fifty persons, including Rog-po dGa', a disciple of Thod-pa, the nun Zlo-ba, and others, made requests for an exposition of the rDo-rJe zam-pa. 'Dzeṅ said: "Let J̌o-sras tell (you)! You listen!" and he (J̌o-sras) preached from the Teacher's seat. 'Dzeṅ and 'Dzeṅ J̌o-sras associated for about 18 years, and he was able to obtain instruction. After having received instructions in the secret precepts, he was nominated to continue the Lineage. The ācārya Kun-bzaṅs was a disciple of both 'Dzeṅ Dharmabodhi and the junior 'Dzeṅ, the "Mad one". Now his (Kun-bzaṅs) story: (his father) was uncle Pha-Jo dbUs-pa, an experienced meditative ascetic and disciple of rJe Khams-pa rDor-rgyal. His mother (was) Zi-gza' Des-čhog, who had obtained instruction in the Doctrine from a nun, named the "Mad bSam-grub". He was born in the Sheep year (lug-lo—1151?), following an auspicious dream seen by Pha-Jo dbUs-pa and his mother. When he reached the age of 8 or 9, he met with the ācārya Kor-ston Rāja, and studied a little under him. When he had reached the age of 15, the latter passed away. About five years were spent by him studying the Źi-byed (system) with the ācārya Ṅu, and attending on the latter, to the best of his abilities. He met with 'Dzeṅ J̌o-sras in the presence of the ācārya Ṅu at the monastery of gSer-luṅ. He obtained the gSaṅ-sgrub of 'Dzeṅ and the Phag-mo mṄon-'byuṅ (Ḍākinīsarvacittādvayācintya-jñānavajravarāhyabhibhavatantra-rājanāma, Kg.rGyud-'bum. No. 378). One evening when the teacher had taken the oath on the completion of the (exposition) of the rDo-rJe zam-pa, the teacher and he saw an auspicious dream. When 'Dzeṅ, the Junior, had taken him with

himself, he met with 'Dzeṅ Dharmabodhi, and saw in his dream two stars merging into the sphere of the moon of the 15th day. He (Dharmabodhi) explained that the dream concerned J̌o-sras and himself. He obtained from 'Dzeṅ (Dharmabodhi), the Senior, the rDo-rJe zam-pa on one occasion, and this was the first time he had heard (the exposition) of the rDo-rJe zam-pa. Then 'Dzeṅ J̌o-sras was invited to sPuṅ-riṅs and on seven occasions obtained the exposition of the rDo-rJe zam-pa. Later he proceeded to Dags-po for four winter recesses and heard on 13½ occasions the rDo-rJe zam-pa. He associated continuously (39b) for about 8 years with 'Dzeṅ J̌o-sras and on seven occasions obtained (the exposition) of the rDo-rJe zam-pa. Later (he heard it) on two occasions at So-ru; on one occasion at gSer-luṅ. Besides it, he also studied it during discussions (with them). Altogether he heard (this text) on 35 occasions, from both 'Dzeṅ, uncle and nephew. After receiving instruction from both 'Dzeṅ, uncle and nephew, he used to give both the short and detailed interpretation of the basic texts. His son, the nirmāṇa-kāya 'Od-'bar seṅ-ge possessed a keen intellect and a very great wisdom. At the age of 14, he was able to preach the rDo-rJe zam-pa, which he bestowed on J̌o-mgon, holder of the Spiritual Lineage. He also bestowed it on Bya-mad Tshul-rin. Again, Myaṅ Dharmasiṃha of bTsan-thaṅ in Yar-kluṅs obtained the complete instruction in the rDo-rJe zam-pa from 'Dzeṅ Dharmabodhi, and a yogic insight was born in him. Blessing pervaded him. While residing at the hermitage of the cemetery (dur-khrod), he laboured for the benefit of living beings. There exists an exposition of the text, transmitted through him. He passed away at the age of 77. His disciple Vajrapāṇi. The latter's disciple was bLa-ma Lha. Again 'Dzeṅ taught it to gSer-luṅ-pa. The latter taught it to the ācārya Raṅ-grol. This latter taught it to (his) son Chos-rin. Again 'Dzeṅ taught it to Ṅu rDo-rJe rgyan, and the latter taught it to Ṅu-ston Dad-pa brtson-'grus. An interpretation of the text was composed by one of his disciples. Again 'Dzeṅ taught it to gZig Ye-śes dbaṅ-po.

The latter taught it to the upādhyāya La-kha-ba. The latter taught it to the ācārya mGo-skya-ba, who taught it to the ācārya Go-ra-ba. The latter taught it to So-ston. There exists a Commentary on the text (rDo-rJe zam-pa) composed by this So-ston. Again one sixteen years old named gYag-ston Zla-ba 'od-zer of sPuṅ-riṅs obtained it from 'Dzeṅ, and taught it to kLog-ston dGe-'dun-skyabs, who also made an exposition of the basic text. gYag-ston lived for 97 years. From him (the text) was obtained by Ban-de dGos-pa-btsan, aged 28, at 'On-nag-po sTod-pa-klad. 'Dzeṅ Dharmabodhi (40*a*)
taught it to sKye-tshe Ye-śes dbaṅ-phyug. The latter to gZig Ye-śes dbaṅ-po. The latter to the mahā-upādhyāya Ṅur-ba čhen-po bSod-nams-'od. This latter transmitted it to Ṅu-ston Vajreśvara. This latter to the mahā-upādhyāya bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, who handed it down to the mahā-upādhyāya Śes-rab. This latter transmitted it to the unrivalled gZon-nu grags-pa. This latter to the mahā-upādhyāya Saṅs-rgyas-bzaṅ-po. The latter to brIson-'grus dbaṅ-phyug. The latter to mTha'-bži Grags-pa rin-čhen. This latter to the ācārya Śākya rgyal-po-pa. This great mahātman in his youth took up ordination at Khrab-la-kha. After reaching the proper age, he took up the final monastic vows. After studying well the Abhidharma-kośa and the Vinaya, he practised debates in order to obtain his degree at sKyor-mo-luṅ and other monasteries. The concentration of his mind greatly increased. When he was 82, I invited him in the autumn of the year Wood-Female-Hen (śiṅ-mo-bya—1465 A.D.) to the monastery of bKra-śis of lJaṅ, and obtained from him initiation and his blessing according to the guide-book composed by 'Ol-Jo-sras. He further bestowed on me the guide to the rDo-rJe zam-pa, and 68 minor doctrines, such as the "Detailed Analysis" composed by the ācārya Kun-bzaṅs and other texts. Because of his constant meditation (on Bhaiṣajyaguru), I requested him to bestow on me the initiation (abhiṣeka) of Bhaiṣajyaguru, which he granted. He further bestowed on me the "guide" and the text (khrid-luṅ) with its book of the secret

section of the "Great Achievement," which he had obtained from bLa-ma Lha of Lha-luṅ. Every year I used to present him with considerable offerings, and it pleased him greatly. After I had obtained instructions from him, many others came and requested (for an exposition of the rDo-rJe zam-pa). Because of failing eyesight, others used to read out the text for him, and he repeated it, and thus bestowed it on numerous occasions. He died at the age of 91 in the spring of the year Wood-Male-Horse (śiṅ-pho-rta—1474 A.D.). After the cremation of his remains, we found his heart filled with relics, from which inexhaustible relics were secured.

The Chapter on the history of the rDo-rJe zam-pa. (40b)

The story of the very secret system of rDzogs-po čhen-po sñiṅ-thig:[1]

Till Śrī-Siṃha the Lineage of the system coincided with that of the "Mental" Class (Sems-phyogs). Śrī-Siṃha taught it to the scholar Ye-śes-mdo. This latter taught it to the ācārya Vimalamitra. Vimalamitra was also a direct disciple of Buddhaguhya (Saṅs-rgyas gsaṅ-ba). Buddhaguhya (Saṅs-rgyas gsaṅ-ba) taught the Māyā Cycle to Vimala, and the latter to rMa Rin-čhen-mčhog. Now, it is stated in ancient records about the ācārya Vimalamitra that there had been two Vimalamitras, the "Earlier" and the "Later," during the reigns of the religious kings Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan and mÑa'-bdag Ral-pa-čan. The "Earlier" lived during the reign of the religious king Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan. He did not dress in monastic robes but went about attired as a yogin. The king and his ministers expressed doubt as to whether he was a heretic, or a Buddhist. Doubts were also expressed, because, while making obeissance, he had broken an image of Vairocana. In order to remove the doubts of the ministers he composed the Saḍaṅga-Śaraṇa (sKyabs-'gro

1 n of a mystic doctrine of the rÑiṅ-ma-pas, said to have been founded by Vimalamitra. The basic text of the system is called sÑiṅ-thig ya-bži. Another well-known text of the system is the kLoṅ-čhen sÑiṅ-thig. The philosophic background of the system is the Mādhyamika doctrine.

yan-lag drug-pa, Tg.dbU-ma, No. 3972), in which he said: "the king and ministers did not trust me, so I composed the rite of the 'Six branches of the Refuge taking ceremony'." He also composed an extensive commentary on the Prajñāhṛdaya (Ś̌es-rab sñiṅ-po, the Bhagavatī-prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya, Kg. śer-phyin, No. 21 (also No. 531) and the Cig-čhar 'Jug-pa'i sgom-don (Sakṛtprāveśikanirvikalpabhāvanārtha, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3910). To judge from the method (employed in these books) he must have lived after the ācārya Kamalaśīla. The "Later" Vimalamitra is the author of an extensive commentary on the Pratimokṣa-sūtra in fifty chapters (Bam-po lṅa-bču-pa, Pratimokṣasūtraṭīkā Vinayasamuccaya, Tg. 'Dul-ba, No. 4106). He should be regarded as a monk. The "earlier" Vimala taught the precepts of the sÑiṅ-thig to the king and to Myaṅ Tiṅ-'dzin bzaṅ-po. Then Vimala proceeded to China. When the king was young, this Myaṅ Tiṅ-'dzin bzaṅ-po acted as his guardian. Later after his ordination, the king and his ministers held a council and granted him an extensive landed property (rkyen-ris). I have seen the letter containing the grant, written on bluish silk. He practised the method of sÑiṅ-thig. At the age of 55, his mind having (41a) become purified, he disappeared without leaving his physical body behind. The god Vajrasādhu having sent a hail-storm in Khams, took away a hundred camel loads of grain, he (Myaṅ Tiṅ-'dzin) levied a tax on the god. Having obtained (as tax) plenty of barley, he built the temple of dbU-ru-žwa, in which he hid the precepts of sÑiṅ-thig. He taught the "Lineage of Words" (tshig brgyud) to 'Brom Rin-čhen-'bar. The latter taught them to sBas bLo-gros dbaṅ-phyug. This "Lineage of the Word" (tshig-brgyud) was also included in the Gaṅ-zag brgyud-pa (Lineage of Individuals). At a later time the sthavira lDaṅ-ma Lhun-rgyal, a contemporary of Myaṅ Mi-Darma, discovered these hidden (precepts) and practised them himself. He also looked for a suitable disciple (to transmit these precepts). He found lCe-btsun Seṅ-ge dbaṅ-phyug from upper Myaṅ, and bestowed on him the seven degrees of

these precepts. About that time, he also taught them to Kha-rag sGom-čhuṅ. He is said to have been emancipated (through the precepts of sÑiṅ-thig). At a later time, lČe-btsun came once to offer much wealth to lDaṅ-ma. Having met Myaṅ bKa'-gdams-pa of Mal-gro at sÑe-thaṅ, the latter told him the news about lDaṅ-ma's passing. He then offered the presents to the monastic community resident at sÑe-thaṅ. Myaṅ bKa' gdams-pa, thinking that lČe-btsun possessed profound precepts, because he intended to present numerous offerings to his teacher, requested him (for precepts). lČe-btsun bestowed the precepts on Myaṅ bKa'-gdams-pa. He then meditated on the rock of Ti-sgro of gZo, and passed away without leaving behind his physical body. Again lČe-btsun moved his residence to the mountain range situated between Śaṅs and U-yug, practised meditation and obtained miraculous powers (siddhi). He then lived for 50 years, and transformed himself into light without residues. His precepts were hidden in three secret places: at U-yug, Laṅ-gro'i 'čhad-pa-ltag and J̌al-gyi phu. Thirty years after the hiding of the precepts, lČe-sgom nag-po of Lower Roṅ-snar discovered some of these hidden precepts, and practised them himself, and taught them to many others. From Laṅ-gro'i 'čhad-pa-ltag (41*b*)
one called Śaṅs-pa Ras-pa obtained hidden precepts, and taught them to others. Again, when Žaṅ bKra-śis rdo-rǰe who was born in the Fire-Female-Ox year (Me-mo-glaṅ, 1097 A.D.) at bLa-do of sNul-mtsho-gliṅ-dgu, was residing at Upper Myaṅ, the god Vajrasādhu having transformed himself into a white man, wearing a white hat, appeared to him, and guided him from Upper Myaṅ, helping him on the way by providing him with night-quarters and food. In Lower U-yug there were internal troubles, but Vajrasādhu sheltered him, without the soldiers seeing him. He guided him to the summit of a high rock in the western mountains of U-yug. There in a cave facing north, with its entrance blocked by grass, he discovered the hidden precepts. The form of the wrathful Ekajāṭī (who was the guardian of the

hidden precepts) appeared to him and emitted a loud sound. Thereupon Vajrasādhu told the goddess that there existed a prophecy that that would happen. Ekajāṭī then said: "Perform 188 gaṇacakras (feasts) and for three years do not preach them to men," and saying so, vanished. After that he presented 188 gaṇacakras. The date of the discovery of these hidden treasures is said to have been the Fire-Female-Hen year (Me-mo bya—1117 A.D.), the 21st year of Žaṅ-ston. Further, he discovered the hidden teachings, hidden by lČe-btsun at Jal-gyi phu, and by Vimala himself in the rock of 'Čhims-phu. He taught (them) extensively to men. It is said that when he discovered the hidden (precepts) of Žaṅ-ston, fifty years had passed since the discovery of the precepts by lČe-sgom nag-po. In general, he was supposed to pass away without leaving behind his physical body, but he begot a son, and therefore was unable to pass away without leaving behind his mortal remains. He died at the age of 71 in the year Fire-Female-Hog (Me-mo-phag—1167 A.D.). His son Ñi-'bum: he was born when his father was 62 in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (Sa-pho-stag—1158 A.D.). This Ñi-'bum in general attended on many teachers, and especially on the Venerable of Sa-skya—Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (one of the five Sa-skya superiors /Sa-čhen Goṅ-ma lṅa/), rÑog rDo-rje Seṅ-ge of gŽuṅ, and on many others. Having associated with his father for eleven years, he completed the study of the sÑiṅ-thig and also composed a śāstra, named Tshig-don čhen-mo ("The Great Meaning of Words"). (42a)

He also performed many services for the sake of the bLa-ma Žaṅ (žabs-tog byed-pa is mostly used in the sense of 'bul-ba phul-ba). In his 39th year, in the year Fire-Male-Dragon (Me-pho-brug—1196 A.D.), a son named Jo-'bar was born to him. Ñi-'bum himself passed away at the age of 56 in the year Water-Female-Hen (čhu-mo-bya—1213 A.D.). Ñi-'bum's father had met lČe-sgom himself, and had obtained from him secret precepts, and thus he can be

regarded as his direct disciple. At the death of the father and son, when their funeral rites were being performed, there appeared many extraordinary signs and relics. Jo-'bar himself associated with his father (the text has "uncle", but should read "father") till the age of 18, and listened to the complete precepts of the "Highest Hidden". From the age of 19, from the year Wood-Dog (śiṅ-khyi—1214 A.D.), till the age of twenty, he listened (to an exposition) of the three Tantras with precepts by the Sa-skya paṇ-čhen, and (to the exposition) of the Saṃvara Cycle according to the method of Mal-gyo. From Chu-mig-pa he obtained the Nyāyasamuccaya (Tshad-ma bsdus-pa, "Abridged Logic"). When he was 22, he listened (to the exposition) of the precepts of the mahāsiddha Mitra Jo-gi (yogin) by Khro-phu lo-tsā-ba, and to the precepts of the "incomplete" Mahāmudrā (Phyag-rgya čhen-po kha-'thor) by the Nepālese Grags-pa 'Bum-me. He completed his studies at the age of 36. He did not relate most of his visions. When he was making offerings to the Lord of Lha-sa, he had a vision of Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara inside a halo of light. One day, at dawn, he had a vision of Amitāyus inside a halo of light. He said: "This probably means that though my family was not long-lived, I myself have lived long enough". He passed away in the Hare year (this is the Iron Hare year /lčags-yos/—1231 A.D. The Re'u-mig gives 1230 A.D. Jo-'bad of the Re'u-mig should be corrected to Jo-'bar) amidst extraordinary signs. 'Khrul-žig seṅ-ge rgyal-pa met him. When he was born to father Bkra-śis dṅos-grub and mother dPal-le in the town of Gad-'phreṅ in Upper gYu-ru-gra, a rainbow canopy appeared over the roof of the house at sunrise. From the age of nine, he was filled with great respect and reverence towards others. At ten he understood all visual objects to be of an illusionary nature. At 12, he felt great sadness (towards the World). At 13, he dreamt that the sun and the moon were shining at one time, and that (42b)
at the time of his awakening from the dream, the Great

Merciful One (Avalokiteśvara) appeared and told him to meditate on the meaning of the sÑiṅ-thig, and then vanished. From that time onwards he was filled with a great and impartial compassion. At the age of 18, he understood all external objects and ideas to be of an illusionary nature. At the age of 20, he took up ordination in the presence of the upādhyāya lDe'u sgaṅ-pa and of the ācārya bKra-śis sgaṅ-pa. At the age of 25, in order to escape from accidents which were proper to that year (sri means an accident which might befall /people/ at the end of a period of 12 years), he proceeded to Seṅ-ge-rgyab. He heard an exposition of the teaching of 'Tshal-pa from the "middle" Sen-ge-rgyab-pa. He obtained from the bla-ma Tsa-ri-pa the system of breath-control known as "Seṅ-ge'i Jaṅ-bsnol ("Neck-touching lions"). Also obtained many precepts of the "Old" and "New" Tantras, in Mahāmudrā and the Ži-byed system from Ras-pa Dri-me-'od, Lha-ri-dpal, gŽon-nu 'bum, sTon-čhar, Byaṅ-čhub yon-tan, the ācārya Jo-sras and others, and especially the complete secret precepts of the sÑiṅ-thig from Jo-'bar. For many years he earnestly practised meditation in hermitages and uninhabited valleys. He led many worthy disciples on the path of initiation and emancipation (guidance) (smin = dbaṅ; grol = khrid), and passed away at the age of 64. His disciple was Me-loṅ rdo-rje who was born to bSam-yas, a yogin, and 'Bar-ma at sGrags-phu in the year Water-Female-Hare (Čhu-mo-yos—1243 A.D.). At the age of 9, he took up ordination in the presence of the mahāsiddha Za-luṅ-pa and the mahā-upādhyāya Se-luṅ-pa. While he was meditating at Raṅs-mtsho, his understanding blossomed forth, and he obtained the faculty of prescience. At the age of 16, he performed about a hundred gaṇacakras at Zogs-steṅs of Sgrags-phu and perceived the Relative meaning of Nature (gnas-lugs-stoṅ-pa-ñid). Then he visited various places and attended on many teachers. He practised extensively austerities at Śa-'ug sTag-sgo (near Sa-skya), mKhar-čhu and other localities. At the age of 18, in

the year Iron-Ape (lčags-spre—1260 A.D.) he obtained the doctrine of sÑiṅ-thig from Seṅ-ge dbon-po at Seṅ-ge-rgyab. He practised meditation, and during six days he had a vision, by day and by night, of Vajrasattva. During the initiation ceremony, he met in a dream the Teachers of his Spiritual Lineage, and obtained (their) blessing. At the age of 23, he obtained many hidden precepts (gter-čhos) such as the Vajravārahī (rDo-rJe phag-mo) and others, from Saṅs-rgyas ras-pa. He had a vision of Vajravārahī. He saw (43a)
bDe-mčhog lhan-skyes, Hayagrīva, Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, Vajrasattva, Vimala, U-rgyan, Za-lun-pa, Sans-rgyas ras-pa and 'Gro-mgon Rin-po-čhe surrounded by a mass of light. At Duṅ-luṅ he heard the voice of ḍākiṇīs. At Ka-ba-čan, he saw in the sky Vārahī (Phag-mo) and Za-luṅ-pa. At the age of 26, he obtained numerous instructions, while attending on 'Khrul-žig Dar-ma, Sprul-sku rGya-mtsho and others. He also obtained many instructions, from mDo-bo Ras-pa of mTshur-phu, and 'Khrul-žig dbon-po of dGon-rtse. He practised meditation at mKhan-pa-lJoṅs, mKhan-pa-gliṅ, Sen-ge-rdzoṅ, Kuṅ-bzans-gliṅ and mKhar-čhu, and laboured for the welfare of living beings. Since he had to die at the age of 37, prayers were offered by a priest named ācārya Kun-dga', and he lived till the age of 61, and passed away in the year Water-Female-Hare (čhu-mo-yos—1303 A.D.). This Water-Female-Hare year is the 74th year of the mahāsiddha U-rgyan-pa, and the 14th year of Bu-ston Kha-čhe, the 2nd year of Ta'i Si-tu Byaṅ-čhub rgyal-mtshan, the 38th year of Rig-'dzin Kumāra, the 81st year of 'Khrul-žig Dharma-seṅ-ge, the 36th year of sÑe-mdo Kun-dga' Don-grub. When Me-loṅ rdo-rJe was 38, Saṅs-rgyas ras-pa died. Me-loṅ-pa's disciple Rig-'dzin Kumārarāja: When Me-lon-pa was 24, he was born at Bar-gsar rdziṅ-kha to Jo-sras bSod-nams-dpal and Khya-bza' 'Bum-me in the year Fire-Male-Tiger (Me-pho-stag—1266 A.D.). He was named Thar-pa-rgyan. From his childhood he showed great commiseration, great wisdom

and understood reading and writing without having studied. At the age of 7, he obtained initiation into the Hevajra and Saṃvara systems from a guru, a devotee of Hevajra, of the monastery of O-śod mtho-stens in Koṅ-po. At the (43b) age of 9, he was ordained as upāsaka in the presence of the upādhyāya gTsaṅ-pa, and obtained the system of 'Khor-ba don-sprugs (Cycle of Avalokiteśvara according to the rÑiṅ-ma-pas). At the age of 12, he took up ordination in the presence of upādhyāya Yer-pa-ba of Phag-mo-thu and of the ācārya mÑa'-ris-pa, and received the name of gŽon-nu rgyal-po (Kumārarāja). He studied the Vinaya, and for five years the "Six Doctrines" of Nā-ro-pa (Nā-ro Čhos-drug) and other systems with the Precious Grags-se-ba. He obtained the brTag-gñis (Hevajra-Tantra, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 417) from 'Tshar-steṅs-pa. With dPon Saṅ-śe he studied painting (Kumārarāja was famous as an artist). When reciting the maṇi formula, he saw in his dream the Great Merciful One. He obtained many precepts, instructions and Tantras of the rÑiṅ-ma school from Khyuṅ-ma Śak-dar. He met Me-loṅ-pa at Nar-phug of sGrags. He obtained (from him) an exposition of the Mahāmudrā, identified his mind (with it) and a yogic insight was produced in his mind. He then accompanied the mahāsiddha (Me-loṅ-pa), who was proceeding to mKha'-'gro-gliṅ of Mon (Lahul). He then obtained many doctrines of the Vajravārahī and others, and recited their mantrás. In a dream he saw U-rgyan Padma, who said (to him): "O son of noble family (kulaputra)! Always practise religion!" He then proceeded to mTshur-phu, and studied the sKar-ma-pa doctrines with the bla-ma gÑan-ras and Dar-ma mgon-po. After that he proceeded to sBud-tra of Las-stod. He met the mahāsiddha U-rgyan-pa and Ran-byuṅ rdo-rje, the Karma-pa hierarch, who was aged seven and newly ordained. From the mahāsiddha (U-rgyan-pa) he obtained many precepts. From gÑan-ras he obtained complete instruction in the sÑiṅ-thig doctrine on request of the mahāsiddha

(U-rgyan-pa). From rGya sman-pa bla-ma Nam-mkha' rdo-rJe he obtained the identification of the main points of the Hidden class (gsaṅ-skor gnad-kyi ṅo-sprod), and from sKal-ldan Chos-kyi seṅ-ge many teachings of the secret "Great Achievement" including the "Mirror of the Main Point of the Hidden" (gsaṅ-ba gnad-kyi me-loṅ) and others. Then at mKhar-čhu he obtained complete initiation, exposition together with precepts of the sÑiṅ-thig doctrine from Me-loṅ rdo-rJe. As he had no presents to make, he worked as artist-painter for two complete summers, performed austerities and in the end became afflicted by lice. A special mind concentration was born in him. His teacher was very pleased, and gave him his permission to labour for the welfare of living beings. During his initiation, he saw on the teacher's head the four-armed Protector (mGon-po phyag-bži-pa —Mahākāla), and against the door of his teacher's house the (44a) Ekajāṭī, two storeys tall. Behind the goddess he saw Karmamātṛkā with blood red hair, who was drinking blood, which filled the palms of her hands joined together. There for eight years he attended on his guru without separating. He spent one winter in the cave of sMyug-tshal and had a vision of Vajravārahī. His wisdom became very extensive. He then founded the hermitage of 'Tsha-ra-stens in Yar-kluṅs, and stayed there for a short time. Having had a premonition of his teacher's death, he proceeded to mKhar-čhu (Lo-kha), and met him at sKyags. He then proceeded to Tsa-ri. There in the heavenly marsh of Krig-mo he saw a stone image, and five rainbow colours appeared over it, At the circular turquoise lake, situated behind the small pass of the "Crystal mountains" (sel-ri) Dag-pa sel-ri, he saw a rainbow of five colours standing erect against a clear sky. Then at mTshur-phu he offered the precepts of sÑiṅ-thig to the Dharmasvāmin Raṅ-byuṅ-ba (Raṅ-byuṅ rdo-rJe). On going to Śaṅs, he obtained from the ācārya sGom-pa, of the lineage of lCe-sgom nag-po, the gSaṅ-skor and the bSam-gtan Mig-gi sgron-me (The Lamp of the Eye of Meditation). At sNa-dmar of

Diṅ-ri he obtained the "Hermit Doctrine" of Yaṅ-dgon-pa (Ri-čhos. A block-print edition of the work exists in Tibet) from dbOn-po Byaṅ-grub (rGyal-ba Yaṅ-dgon-pa), and met the mahāsiddha (U-rgyan-pa). On his way back, he obtained the gŚin-rje dgra-nag (Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittakṛṣṇayamāri-nāma-Tantra. Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 467) from the bla-ma Bkras-luṅ-pa. He thoroughly revised with the ācārya Ye-mgon and others, the gSaṅ-skor, the Teachings of rGod-tshaṅ-pa, the Great Guide of A-ro (A-ro'i Khrid-mo-čhe), etc. He removed his doubts through study and meditation (thos-bsam). He founded the New Tsa-ri and spent eight months in solitude near the Old (Tsa-ri), and beheld great miraculous visions—Kuvera offering him precious stones, and the local deities inviting him to their abodes and entertaining him there. He also saw two globes of the size of a Tibetan basket in the centre of the lake, merging into each other. He spent his time in hermitages and in mountains only, and held in high esteem mental concentration. On many (44b occasions he revolved the Wheel of the Law of the "Highest Hidden" to sKar-ma-pa Raṅ-byuṅ rdo-rje and others. From Koṅ-po as far as gYal, he prohibited the laying of road traps, fishing nets and traps in the mountains, and taught skilfully the theory (of sÑiṅ-thig) with the help of terminology peculiar to that system, without mixing the precepts of sÑiṅ-thig with those of the Sampannakrama degree. He passed away at the age of 78 in the year Water-Female-Sheep (čhu-mo-lug—1343 A.D./ the Re'u-mig of Sum-pa mkhan-po gives 1342 A.D./). kLoṅ-čhen-pa (the greatest scholar among the rÑiṅ-ma-pas of Tibet, called rGyal-ba gñis-pa, a "Second Jina"; also rGyal-ba gñis-pa dPal bSam-yas-pa Kun-mkhyen Dag-gi dbaṅ-po'am kLoṅ-čhen Rab-'byams-pa /See rÑiṅ-rgyud dKar-čhag, fol. 95a/. An incomplete list of his works is given in the rÑiṅ-rgyud dKar-čhag, fol. 108a. He is said to have been the author of 263 books, including a Chos-'byuṅ, or "History of the Doctrine". He was also said to have been a well-known poet) obtained (instructions) from him. kLoṅ-čhen-

pa was born as son of the ācārya bsTan-bsruṅs and' Brom-gza'-mo bSod-nams-rgyan at Gra'i Phu-stoṅ-groṅ of gYu-ru in the year Earth-Male-Ape (sa-pho-spre'u—1308 A.D.). At the age of 12, he took up ordination in the presence of the upādhyāya bSam-grub rin-čhen and the ācārya Kun-dge' 'od-zer. He heard the exposition of numerous "New" and "Old" Tantras, Sādhanas, Initiations and expositions of texts, etc. from many teachers. He attended on many scholars at gSaṅ-phu including bTsan-dgon-pa, bLa-braṅ-pa Chos-dpal rgyal-mtshan and others. He studied many doctrines, including the "Five Treatises" of Maitreya (Byams-čhos sde-lṅa), the Seven Volumes of Nyāya (The Seven Volumes of Nyāya by Dharmakīrti are the following: Pramāṇavārtikakārikā, Pramā-ṇaviniścaya, Nyāyabindu-nāma-prakarana, Sambandhaparīkṣ-āprakarana, Vādanyāya-nāma-prakaraṇa, Saṃtānāntarasiddhi-nāma-prakaraṇa, and Hetubindu-nāma-prakaraṇa /Tg. Tshad-ma, Nos. 4210,4211,4212,4214,4218,4219 and 4213/), and other texts, and became a Leader among scholars. He spent five months in a dark chamber in the cave (brag-khuṅ) of lČog-la. He then proceeded to bSam-yas, and paid a visit to the residence of Rig-'dzin-pa at sKyam-phu. This latter said (to him): "Last night I dreamt that a wonderful heavenly bird had come. It indicates your coming. You seem to be the holder of the Spiritual Lineage of my doctrine, and the complete secret precepts should be given to you!", and was very pleased. During the spring, they changed nine times their residence from one uninhabited valley to another. As soon as he had settled in one place, he was told to move again. His body experienced many hardships. During that time, he fed for two months on three measures of flour, and on 21 quicksilver pills of the size of a sheep-dropping. When snow fell, he put on a bag which he used both as a garment, and as a mat. He practised austerities in religion, and for three years maintained the vow of abstention, and (45a)
practised meditation in hermitages, such as 'Chims and others. In the meantime he thoroughly revised precepts in the pre-

sence of the teacher. He practised propitiations of (Vajra) vārahī, Sarasvatī (dbyaṅs-čan-ma) and other deities. An unimpeded wisdom was produced in him in all the three branches of teaching, debating and composition (of treatises). At Dan-bag he obtained from the ācārya gŽon-nu Don-grub many teachings, including the mDo, the Māyā (sGyu-'phrul) the "Mental" class (Sems-phyogs) and others. Later he composed a commentary and several guide-books (yig-sna) on the gSaṅ-sñiṅ from the the stand-point of the doctrine of sÑiṅ-thig (this is the text known as kLoṅ-čhen-pa' i'grel-pa). He also composed many books (kLoṅ-čhen mdzod-bdun, included in the kLoṅ-čhen gsuṅ-'bum. The collection is printed at Derge, dbUs and other places), as well as 35 books on the system of sÑiṅ-thig, which he named bLa-ma Yan-tig. He made an exposition of the "Highest Hidden" when many hearers of the doctrine had assembled from both the river banks of sKyi-čhu in Upper dbU-ru. In his later life he preached a great deal the doctrine of sÑiṅ-thig of the ḍākinīs (mkha-'gro'i sñiṅ-thig). Ta'i Si-tu Byaṅ-čhub rgyal-mtshan, and his officials disliked him, saying that he was a "teacher of the 'Bri-guṅ-pas". Later Saṅs-rgyas dpal-rin brought them together (and he became the teacher of Si-tu). He died at the age of 56 in the year Water-Female-Hare (čhu-mo-yos—1363 A.D.) in the midst of extensive labours for the benefit of living beings. He had several sons born of different mothers. Up-to the present day the line of disciples (sons) of the teacher of sÑiṅ-thig did not become extinct. Most of them, through their special excellence, became wonderful teachers of multitudes. Again, a monk known as Byaṅ-sems bSod-nams blo-gros heard from Me-loṅ-pa the exposition of the sÑiṅ-thig. He took up residence at a hermitage at lDan-yul in Upper Myaṅ. Each year he lectured to many disciples on the sÑiṅ-thig. 'Jam-pa'i dbyaṅs bSam-grub rdo-rje heard the doctrine from him. My Teacher heard the doctrine from him. He benefited many living beings through the sÑiṅ-thig. From him I obtained the sÑiṅ-thig, and a brief exposition according

to the method of Me-loṅ-pa. In this manner I was able to write down a concise account of the Lineage of the sampanna-krama degree, known as the "Old" Tantras. I was unable to write more about the method of religious practice of each of the eight doctrines of the "general" and "particular" teachers of the Past, as well as about the way of their obtaining realization. On the whole, gLaṅ-dar-ma having caused the Doctrine to set for more than 70 years, there was not a single priest left in dbUs and gTsaṅ. The numerous holders (of the tradition) of the "Old" Tantras practised successfully their realization in various localities, imparted blessings and the householders (laymen) gladdened them by presents of food, clothes, etc. They thus obtained the first initiation (bum-dbaṅ) only. As their minds gradually ripened when kLu-mes and the others, known as the "Six or Eight men of dbUs and gTsaṅ," came, the numbers of vihāras and monastic communities in various districts increased. Thus we were able to make use of the Sūtras and śāstras, which had been preserved, and which had been translated during the time of former kings and ministers. Most of the scholars and siddha-puruṣas belong to the line of the rÑiṅ-ma-pa siddhas. The Doctrine was transmitted through the Śrī-Sa-skya Lineage (gduṅ-rabs), the descendants of Khro-phu-ba, the Line of rÑog and through the direct disciple of the ācārya Padma, Byaṅ-čhub 'dre-bkol, and protected living beings through the All-Knowing rJe sPyan-sṅa and the Line of his nephews. The chapter on the story of the Class of Precepts (upadeśa, Man-ṅag-gi sde). The Book about the early translations of the Tantras.

(45*b*) (46*a*)

BOOK V

THE VENERABLE LORD (J̌o-bo-rǰe, Atīśa) AND HIS SPIRITUAL LINEAGE

Now I shall relate the manner in which Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna (dPal Mar-me-mdzad ye-śes) spread the Doctrine of the Mahāyānistic Path in Tibet.

This great Teacher: King dGe-ba'i dpal (Kalyāṇaśrī) of the great kingdom called Sa-hor by the Indians, and Za-hor by the Tibetans (Sa-hor—Za-hor, Sābhār, Bengāl?), whose might was equal to that of the king sToṅ-khuṅ (Tongking, Indo-China) of China, dwelling in a palace called "Golden Banner" (gSer-gyi rgyal-mtshan), and his queen named dPal-gyi 'od-zer (Śrīprabhā) had three sons: the eldest son was Padma'i sñiṅ-po (Padmagarbha), the second son was Zla-ba'i sñiṅ-po (Candragarbha), and the youngest son was dPal-gyi sñiṅ-po (Śrīgarbha). The Venerable Master (J̌o-bo-rǰe) was the second son—Zla-ba'i sñiṅ-po (Candragarbha).[1] In his childhood he had a vision of Ārya-Tārā, the

1 The Lam-rim čhen-mo, fol. 3a (rJe Rin-po-čhe'i bKa'-'bum, vol. XIII /Pa/), gives a quotation from the "Stotra of Eighty Ślokas" (bsTod-pa pa brgyad-ču-pa) composed by the lo-tsā-ba Nag-tsho:

"In the East, in the marvellous country of Za-hor,
There has been a great city,
Called Vikramapura
In its centre (stood) a royal residence,
A very spacious palace it was,
Called "Golden-bannered"
In wealth, subjects and revenue,
(The king) was the equal of the king sTon-khun of China.
The kingdom's ruler Kalyānaśrī (dGe-ba'i dpal),
And his queen Prabhāvati (dPal-mo 'od-zer)
Had three sons:
Padmagarbha (Pad-ma'i sñiṅ) and Candragarbha (Zla-ba'i sñiṅ),
And Śrīgarbha (dPal-gyi sñiṅ-po).
Prince Padmagarbha had five queens and nine sons.

tutelary deity of his lives. Under her influence, he did not get attached to royal power, but proceeded to another country in search of a teacher. He requested Rāhulaguhyavajra (sGra-gčan gsaṅ-ba'i rdo-rje), a yogin of the "Black Mountains" (ri-nag-po, Kālaśilā /near Rajgarha/ one of the famous seven hills near Rājagṛha. See Bimala Churn Law: "India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism", London, 1941, pp. 39, 237), (to bestow on him) the initiation into the cycle of Hevajra, and listened to the exposition of the Tantra and precepts. After being established in the degrees of utpannakrama and sampannakrama, he (Dīpaṅkarajñāna) proceeded to foreign countries. For seven years he became an attendant of Avadhūtipa, who had attained the highest realization. For three years he practised rigorous mental training, took part in Tantric feasts (gaṇacakra) in the company of ḍākiṇīs in the country of Oḍḍiyāna, and listened to numerous secret (vajra) songs. These were the secret songs which were written down in later times. While he was being established in the excellent method of the Vajrayāna (gsaṅ-sṅags), he heard in his dream the Blessed One Śākyamuni, surrounded by a retinue of numerous monks, saying: "Why are you attached to this life? Why did you not take up ordination?" He thought that if he were to take up ordination, great benefit would arise for the Doctrine. Thus in his 29th year he accepted ordination from Śīlarakṣita who was established on the Path of Practice, and was the Elder (Sthavira) of the

The eldest was Puṇyaśrī (bSod-nams-dpal, also Kuśalaśrī)
In the present time he became known
As the great scholar Dānaśrī.
The youngest prince Śrīgarbha (dPal-gyi sñiṅ-po),
Became the monk Vīryacandra
The middle son, Candragarbha (Zla-ba'i sñiṅ-po)
Is at present the Venerable Teacher (bLa-ma rJe-btsun, i.e. Atiśa)."

According to the Rev. dGe-'dun Čhos-'phel this Stotra seems to have been originally composed in Sanskrit by Nag-tsho, and then translated by him into Tibetan.

Mahāsaṅghika school (Phal-čhen sde-pa), belonging to the (1a)
Lineage of Buddhajñānapāda (Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes-žabs) at the Mativihāra at Vajrāsana. After that, till the age of 31, Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna studied most of the Three Piṭakas (sDe-snod gsum) of the Four Schools (sDe-pa bži: Mahāsaṅghikas, Sarvāstivādins, Saṃmitīyas and Sthaviravādins) and became proficient in the practice (of the Vinaya), as well as mastered the problems of all schools. For two years at the monastic college of Otantapurī,[2] he heard the Mahāvibhāṣā (Bye-brag-tu bśad-pa čhen-po) from the Teacher Dharmarakṣita, who being a śrāvaka, the Master had to change his residence every seven days (for according to the vows of the Bodhisattva-śīla, a Bodhisattva was not permitted to spend more than seven days in the company of a Hīnayāna śrāvaka). His other Teachers who instructed him in the Prajñāpāramitā and the Vajrayāna, were Jñānaśrīmati, the younger Ku-sa-li (Kusali), Jetāri (Dze-tā-ri), Kṛṣṇapāda (Nag-po-žabs čhen-po), also known as Balyācārya (Ba-la), the younger Avadhūtipa, Ḍombhi-pa, Vidyākokila (Rig-pa'i khu-yug), Matijñānabodhi, Nāro (Nā-ro-pa), Paṇḍita Mahājana (Mi-čhen-po), Bhūtakoṭi-pa, the great scholar Dānaśrī (Dā-čhen-po), Prajñābhadra (Śes-rab

2 In the "Stotra of Eighty Ślokas" by Nag-tsho quoted in the Lam-rim čhen-mo, fol. 62a, it is said:

"At Otantapurī,
There were 53 monks.
At Vikramaśīla,
There were about a hundred monks
All the four main schools were found among them.
You did not show partiality towards any of the differrent schools.
You became the Crown Ornament of all the Four Retinues (Bhikṣus, Bhikṣunis, Upāsakas and Upāsikās),
Residing in the monasteries of Magadha
You being the Head of all the Eighteen Schools,
All of them accepted your commands."

The above quotation shows that at the beginning of the XIth century A.D. the monastic colleges of Otantapurī and Vikramaśīla were already falling into decay, a processs which culminated in the Mohammedan conquest of the XII-XIII centuries.

bzaṅ-po), and Bodhibhadra (Byaṅ-čhub bzaṅ-po). In particular, he studied with Ratnākaraśānti, who was the master of many doctrines handed down through numerous Lineages. Most of these he heard from him. Later, Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna visited the Teacher gSer-gliṅ-pa (Dharmakīrti, Chos-kyi grags-pa). From him he obtained numerous secret precepts, placing foremost the Mental Creative Effort towards Enlightenment. He spent most of his time as Elder (mahā-sthavira, gnas-brtan čhen-po) of the monastic college of Vikramaśīla, and his great fame encompassed all quarters (of the World). On numerous occasions Lha-btsun-pa Byaṅ-čhub-'od sent him invitations (to visit Tibet), accompanied by large presents of gold.

Further, Sroṅ-ṅe, who succeeded (a king) known as Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-'od of mṄa'-ris, his successor king Lha-lde, his successor 'Od-lde; the latter's two younger brothers, the eldest among them lha-btsun Byaṅ-čhub-'od. The youngest (brother) named monk Źi-ba'i 'od was a scholar in all the sciences of Buddhist and heretical doctrines, and a very learned translator. Lha-bla-ma Ye-śes-'od, though he had given up his kingdom, continued to act as commander of the troops. While fighting the Gar-log (<Qarluq), he suffered defeat, (2a)
and was thrown into prison (by them). The Gar-log said to Ye-śes-'od: "If you renounce the refuge to the Three Jewels, we shall let you out of prison. Otherwise, produce gold equal in weight to your body, and we shall then free you". For a long time he remained in captivity. The officials (of the kingdom) secured most of the required gold by collecting gold from mṄa'-ris itself, and by levying a tax on monks in dbUs and gTsaṅ. However they failed in collecting gold equal in weight to Ye-śes-'od's head. Then (his) nephew Byaṅ-čhub-'od proceeded to see him in the Gar-log territory, and said to him: "We have now obtained gold equal in weight to your body; when we shall find (the remaining) gold equal in weight to your head, we shall come to invite you." Ye-śes-'od replied: "I have now become old, and am of no

use to any one. Spend the gold collected by you, to invite paṇḍitas: in order to establish the Doctrine". They followed his words and invited many scholars (from India), and thus established the teaching of the Doctrine. Byaṅ-čhub-'od thought: "Though many monks are found in the country of Tibet, there exist many wrong practices in respect of sByor (sexual practices) and sGrol (ritual murder) in the study of Tantra. Some, who had practised these rites, preached extensively that one could obtain Enlightenment through (the mere acceptance) of the principle of Relativity (Śūnyatā, stoṅ-pa-ñid) without practising meritorious works. Though the doctrine of the Pratimokṣa had spread (in Tibet), those who practised the precepts of the Path of the Bodhisattava had deteriorated. Now we desire to invite scholars who would remove these moral faults. Paṇḍitas, invited previously, did excellent work in some parts of the country, but their work did not benefit the whole of Tibet. But, if we were to invite the Venerable Master (Ĵo-bo-rĴe), he would be able to refute these heresies and thus benefit for the Doctrine would arise." While he was thinking thus, Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, a native of Guṅ-thaṅ, who lived as a monk, proceeded for study to India. rGya brTson-'grus seṅ-ge acted as his guide, and he studied many doctrines with the Master and several other scholars. On his return to Guṅ-thaṅ, Lha-btsun-pa called him into his (2b) presence and said to him: "You must go and invite the Venerable Master (Atiśa). Should you succeed in pleasing me by inviting him, later I shall make you pleased. You should not transgress the command of me, known as the king" (Here Lha-btsun-pa paraphrased Buddha's words about the non-transgression of the five commands). Nag-tsho after receiving the king's command, took with him the largest part of a piece of unwrought gold to the value of 16 sraṅs. When he was on his way to India accompanied by a large retinue, he cleverly diverted an attack by brigands, and safely reached Vikramaśīla during the night. While they were reciting

prayers in Tibetan, rGya brTson-'grus seṅ-ge, who was sitting on the roof of the entrance hill, overheard them, and shouted: "Are you Tibetans? To-morrow we shall meet surely". On the next day rGya brTson-'grus seṅ-ge led Nag-tsho into the presence of the Master, and placing a large quantity of gold, including the piece of unwrought gold on the maṇḍala, rGya brTson-seṅ addressed the Master, saying: "Formerly the Doctrine had greatly prospered in Tibet, but gLaṅ Dar-ma had destroyed it. Then, after many years, through the efforts of bLa-čhen-po the number of monks increased. Though the monks were very learned in the Tripiṭaka, they were unable to put into practical use religious instructions contained in the Piṭaka. Now, if the Master would himself proceed (to Tibet), he would thus fulfill the King's desire and teach the monks the practical side of religion. Other paṇḍitas had (already) stressed the difficulties (of this work)." Thus rGya brTson-seṅ earnestly entreated the Master, who said: "You are right! The Tibetan king has spent much gold for my sake! Several people who had come with the invitation, had been smitten by fever. I feel ashamed before the Tibetan king, and having considered the matter, I have decided to proceed in any case to Tibet, if I can be of help. But it is difficult for the Elder (sthavira) of Vikramaśīla to let us go, and one must find a way out of the difficulty." Turning to Nag-tsho, (3a)
Atīśa said: "Do not say to anyone that you had come to invite me! Say that you have come for study. Begin your studies!" Accordingly, the lo-tsā-ba (Nag-tsho) took up study (at Vikramaśīla). The Master consulted his tutelary deity and a yoginī at Vajrāsana, and these unanimously told him: "By all means go to Tibet! In general, benefit will arise for the Doctrine, and in particular, great benefit will arise from your association with the upāsaka. But your life will be shortened by twenty years!" The Master then thought for himself: "If benefit for the Doctrine and living beings were to arise, then the shortening of one's own life did not matter." He proceeded with the preparations for his departure. Immediately

he announced that he was going to circumambulate the Vajrāsana and visit the self-evolved stūpa in Nepāl. Both the lo-tsā-bas were attending on the Master, and at the time of his departure the Elder Śīlākara (Abbot of Vikramaśīla. At that time Atīśa acted as Steward /žal-ta-ba/ of the monastic college) said to Nag-tsho: "I was thinking, O Long-lived One! you had come here for study, but you are stealing away our Paṇḍita! And the Paṇḍita himself seems to be happy at going away! I shall not hinder his departure, but do not remain in Tibet for more than three years. After that, the Paṇḍita should be escorted back (to India)". Nag-tsho promised it. (The Master) made expensive offerings to the Vajrāsana. Then when they had reached Nepāl, the Master had an auspicious dream. They spent one year (in Nepāl), and built the great temple of Stham vihāra, and deposited there provisions (in support) of a numerous clergy. Many were ordained. The Master, who was born in the Water-Male-Horse year (čhu-pho-rta—982 A.D.), in his 57th year, in the year Iron-Male-Dragon year (lčags-pho-'brug—1040 A.D.) left India. The Iron-Female-Serpent year (lčags-mo-sbrul—1041 A.D.) the Master spent in Nepāl. In the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1042 A.D.) the Master proceeded to mÑa'-ris. // Nag-tsho lo-tsā-ba was born in the year Iron-Female-Hog (lčags-mo-phag—1011 A.D.). At the time of the arrival of the Master in mÑa'-ris, he was 31. He used to say that at the temple of Stham vihāra, the manner of taking food and the manner of conducting the study of the Doctrine (by the monks) were good. When they arrived in mÑa'-ris, Lha-bla-ma made extensive preparations to welcome (them) and proceeded to the monastery of mTho-ldiṅ, where Lha-bla-ma made a discourse on the attainment of his cherished object. Later, when the Master was residing in Central Tibet (dbUs), Lha-bla-ma came to meet him. About that time, Tibetan teachers inquired from him about the knowledge of different paṇḍitas who had come to mÑa'-ris, he replied: "This (3b)

teacher possesses this (knowledge), that one—that, etc." When they inquired about the Master's knowledge, he (Lha-bla-ma) raised his eyes towards the sky, and emitting a smacking sound with his tongue, uttered: "O! his knowledge! O! his knowledge!" by this he expressed that the Master's knowledge was surpassing words. The Master bestowed on Lha-bla-ma and on many others in a very secret manner numerous Tantric initiations, and many precepts. Lha-bla-ma made the request that, since there was disagreement on points of Doctrine between various scholars in Tibet, the Master should compose a treatise which could serve as an antidote for it. The Master composed the Bodhipatha-pradīpa (Byaṅ-čhub lam-gyi sgron-ma, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3947) which expounded the stages of the paths of the three classes of men. In which he said: "At first the conduct of the lower class of men was to recollect death. If one did not turn one's mind away from this life, one will not be able to enter into the midst of religious men. Should one consider one's skandhas (aggregates) to represent the Self, then one would not obtain Salvation. If one does not possess a Creative Mental Effort towards Enlightenment, then one would be unable to enter the Mahāyānistic Path. If this Mahāyānistic Path does not combine the method (thabs—upāya) and prajñā (śes-rab), even though one may constantly meditate on the principle of Relativity (stoṅ-pa-ñid), one would not attain Enlightenment". By saying this the Master removed the pride of those who considered themselves to possess the method of meditation. The Master said that it was not suitable to practise the real method (dṅos-kyi lag-len) of the second and third initiation, except in the case of those who had a knowledg of the Ultimate Reality (De-kho-na-ñid). Thus the Master emitted the Lion's roar saying that sByor-ba and sGrol-ba were unsuitable for practice by one who followed the word of Tantras only. Because of his holding in high esteem the fruits of deeds, the Master was known as paṇḍita Las-'bras-pa—"Paṇḍita of Karma and its effects". When he heard that he was known

so, he said: "This mere name was of benefit", and was pleased. At that time the lo-tsā-ba Rin-čhen bzan-po (4a) thought: "His knowledge as a scholar is hardly greater than mine, but since he has been invited by Lha-bla-ma, it will be necessary (for me) to attend on him." He accordingly invited him to his own residence at the vihāra of mTho-ldin (In the vihāra) the deities of the higher and lower Tantras were represented according to their respective degrees and for each of them the Master composed a laudatory verse. When the Master sat down on the mat, the lo-tsā-ba (Rin-čhen bzan po) inquired from him: "Who composed these verses?"—"These verses were composed by myself this very instant" replied the Master, and the lo-tsā-ba was filled with awe and amazement. The Master then said to the lo-tsā-ba "What sort of doctrine do you know?' The lo-tsā-ba told him in brief about his knowledge and the Master said: "If there are men such as you in Tibet, then there was no need of my coming to Tibet!" Saying so, he joined the palms of his hands in front of his chest in devotion. Again the Master asked the lo-tsā-ba "O great lo-tsā-ba! when an individual is to practise all the teachings of Tantras sitting on a single mat, how is he to act?" The lo-tsā-ba replied: "Indeed, one should practise according to each (Tantra) separately." The Master exclaimed: "Rotten is the lo-tsā-ba! Indeed there was need of my coming to Tibet! All these Tantras should be practised together". The Master taught him the "Magic Mirror of the Vajrayāna" (gSan-snags 'phrul-gyi me-lon), and a great faith was born in the lo-tsā-ba, and he thought: "This Master is the greatest among the great scholars!" He requested the Master to correct (his) previous translations of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā (brGyad-ston-pa, the commentary by Haribhadra, Kg. Śes-phyin, No. 12), the Viṃśati-ālokā (Ñi-khri snan-ba, Tg. Śes-phyin, No. 3787) and the Great Commentary on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā (Tg. Śer-phyin. No. 3791). The Master said: "I am going to Central Tibet (dbUs), you

should accompany me as interpreter". At that time the great lo-tsā-ba was in his 85th year, and taking off his hat, he said to the Master (pointing out to his white hair): "My head has gone thus, I am unable to render service". It is said that the great lo-tsā-ba had sixty learned teachers, besides (4b) the Master, but these others failed to make the lo-tsā-ba meditate. The Master said "O Great lo-tsā-ba! The sufferings of this Phenomenal World are difficult to bear. One should labour for the benefit of all living beings. Now, pray practise meditation!" The lo-tsā-ba listened attentively to these words, and erected a house with three doors, over the outer door he wrote the following words: "Within this door, should a thought of attachment to this Phenomenal World arise even for one single moment only, may the Guardians of the Doctrine split (my) head!" Over the middle door (he wrote). "Should a thought of self-interest arise even for one single moment only, may the Guardians of the Doctrine split (my) head." Over the inner door (he wrote): "Should an ordinary thought arise even for one single moment only, may the Guardians of the Doctrine split (my) head" (The first inscription corresponds to the stage of Theravāda), the second to that of the Bodhisattva-yāna, and the third to the Tantra-yāna). After the departure of the Master, he practised 'one-pointed' meditation for ten years and had a vision of the maṇḍala of Śrī-Saṃvara. He passed away at the age of 97. During the funeral rites, all villagers including children saw in the sky a multitude of gods performing worship and making offerings (to the deceased lo-tsā-ba). After the cremation of his remains, no relics whatever were left behind, except for a red-coloured śarīra (riṅ-bsrel), similar to an 'Ol-mo-se(mañjarī) berry. It is said that after a short while it disappeared to heaven accompanied by the sound of thunder. Lha-btsun-pa said to the Master: "Among the Tantras I revere the Guhyasamāja and among the gods I revere Avalokiteśvara." The Master composed the Abhisamaya (mÑon-par rtogs-pa) of the Guhyasamāja (Guhyasamāja-abhisamaya, Tg. rGyud, No.

1892) in which 'Jig-rten dbaṅ-phyug (Lokeśvara) was the chief deity of the maṇḍala of Guhyasamāja according to the system of Jñānapāda (Ye-śes ẓabs) and in which one had to recite the Ma-ṇi-padme with the addition of three letters representing the mantra of the above, and a Hymn to this mandala (dKyil-'khor-gyi bstod-pa, Śrīguhyasamājastotra, Tg. rGyud, No. 1894). This work agrees with the 'Dus-pa'i dbaṅ-bskur bźi-bigya-lṅa-bcu-pa (This text is not found in the bsTan-'gyur. Included in the collection is a commentary on the above text. Tg. rGyud, No. 1871). This method became famous among scholars. In this manner he established on the path of virtue the kalyāṇa-mitras of mŇa'-ris, as well as lesser living beings. The Master spent three years (in mŇa'-ris), and the religious practice based on the method of the Master received wide acceptance. When he was preparing to return to India, he was met by'Brom while residing at a place called rGyal-źiṅ of Pu-hraṅs. (5a)

This 'Brom: (his) family was bŹer His father (was named) rTa-gsum Śu-bźer, his mother (was called) Khu-lto gza'-lan-čig-ma. He was born in the year Wood-Female-Serpent (śiṅ-mo-sbrul—1005 A.D.), at Upper sTod-luns. His mother died early. From his childhood he had a penetrating mind, and decided that it was better for him to go to some other place, than to quarrel with his step-mother. So he went to gŹu, and studied reading and writing. While living there, he met Jo-bo Se-btsun who was journeying from Khams to Nepāl and India (Lho-Bal). Faith (in him) was born. (Once) Se-btsun defeated a heretical a-tsa-ra (ācārya, here means sādhu) in a debate in Nepāl, who said: "Now we should compare our powers." Se-btsun had a good knowledge of the Ju-źag (=Ju-thig/a system of prognostication, 'mo', with the help of threads. In ancient times it was a bird divination, and even now-a-days each of the threads used in the divination is named after a bird 'cocoo, crow, etc'. /), and said. "Some other people had placed the head of (your) father under a stūpa, and this harms your family. If you have

power, why don't you take it out?" (The a-tsa-ra) became discouraged. Se-btsun thought: "Even if I were to proceed to India, there is no certainty that there exist scholars greater than myself! Moreover, I may meet again this type of man", and returned (to Tibet). There again he met 'Brom, and the latter made the request to him to accept him as an attendant. Se-btsun said: "I may be slandered by people! You had better go with traders." So 'Brom befriended some traders and arrived at Se-btsun's residence. In the house he performed various works, even that of grinding barley grains, and outside of the house he looked after the herd of horses and cattle. Armed with the three kinds of arms ('khor-gsum: mda'-mduṅ-gri, arrow, lance and sword) and riding on a good horse, he used to watch (the herd) against brigands. (5b)
While he was grinding flour, he used to keep his books nearby, and study them. In this manner he pursued his studies with great diligence. In the neighbourhood there lived a scholar called "Grammar Thorn" (sgra'i tsher-ma), and with him he studied much the Lañtsa and the Vartula scripts. He asked the scholar: "Who was the greatest scholar in India?" The scholar replied: "When I was in India, the greatest was Nā-ro-pa. There was also a monk belonging to the royal family named Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna. If he is still alive, he will become great." As soon as 'Brom heard this name, great faith was born in him, and he felt a strong desire to meet him and he thought whether it would be possible for him to meet him in this life. He had heard from travellers that the Master had arrived in mṄa'-ris, and therefore asked Se-btsun to give him leave to go to mṄa'-ris. Se-btsun gave him the permission without showing any displeasure, and gave him a donkey with a load, and books. So he went off. When he reached the banks of the rṄog-čhu river, in one of the houses he heard some noise, and asked: "What was inside?" He was told that 'Phraṅ kha-ber-čhuṅ was preparing a memorial ceremony for his father 'Phraṅ-ber-čhen, and that he was serving wine to his relatives. He

joined them in drinking. 'Phraṅ-kha-ber-čhuṅ said: "I am a great man! You should salute me in the style of the fox dance", so 'Brom saluted him. Ber-čhuṅ was fond of religious discourses, and held a conversation on religious subjects with 'Brom. 'Brom defeated him in each word and he said: "I have heard that in Khams there was a very learned upāsaka 'Brom. Are you not him?"—'Brom answered: "I may be him." The man was surprised, and pulling out from under himself a carpet, he requested 'Brom to sit on it. He then presented him with a good horse with a bridle to which was attached a piece of silk (a scarf attached to the bridle and which is offered with the horse to the receipient of the gift), and offered him apologies for having accepted a salutation from 'Brom, saying: "I shall be your supporter! You should establish a monastery at Rwa-sgreṅ and become my preceptor." 'Brom replied "I have no leisure now I am going to mÑa'-ris to meet a paṇḍita! Later, if conditions permit, I shall become your priest, and shall establish a monastery at Rwa-sgreṅ." 'Brom then proceeded to 'Phan-yul. He went to pay his respects to (6a)
Zaṅ-čhen-po of rGyal, who had imparted the upāsaka precepts to him. There he met also Ka-ba Śākya-dbaṅ-phyug and told him: "This time I am going to meet the paṇḍita. If he is to be invited to dbUs, I shall send you a letter. You should then confer with the important men of the locality, and come to welcome him." The latter agreed. 'Brom did not follow the road which led through inhabited country, but proceeded via the northern desert. At first a stranger showed him the road, and told him "Now there is a quarrel at sNa-śud. I shall go", and saying so, he transformed himself suddenly into a whirlwind Later 'Brom used to say: "This was dPe-dkar. If some one was to observe properly religion, then dPe-dkar also was a good guardian of religion." Again, when he was unable to find the trail, he followed after a stag and thus found the proper road. When he reached mÑa'-ris, the

Venerable Tārā said to the Master: "Within three days and half, your upāsaka will reach here in comfort. Prepare to receive him!" The Master then placed a vase for initiation at his pillow and blessed it with mantras. On the midday of the fourth day, when the Master, his retinue and a lay-supporter were invited to partake of food, while going there, the Master (watched the road for 'Brom), saying: "The Venerable Lady (Tārā) did she say an untruth?" Then (passing) through the street, he met face to face with 'Brom. The latter without speaking to the retinue, followed the Master, as if he had associated with him before. He followed the Master to the house of the host, and there having received his share of butter, he melted it and presented offering-lamps to the Master in the evening. The Master bestowed on him an initiation, and thus spending the night as Teacher and disciple, 'Brom was able to discuss (with the Master). After three days, the Master and his retinue resumed their journey and went towards sKyi-roṅ. They spent the Hen-year (1045) there. They intended proceeding towards Bal-po rdzoṅ, but the road was closed because of internal feuds, and they were unable to proceed there. 'Brom told the Master about the many vihāras and the many thousands of monks (6b)
in Lha-sa, bSam-yas, and other monasteries of Central Tibet. The Master said: "Such a great number of brahmacārins does not exist even in India! There must be many arhats also", and saying so, the Master saluted several times in the direction of Central Tibet (dbUs). This encouraged 'Brom and he requested the Master to visit dbUs. The Master said: "If the monastic community were to invite me, I could not refuse the order of the community, and would proceed there." Then 'Brom sent a message through dBaṅ-phyug-mgon of Žaṅ: "Of the Jambudvīpa, which has the shape of a chariot..............you should reach here before autumn." Then Nag-tsho understood that the Master was intending to proceed to dbUs, and grasping the Master's robe, he cried: "I had promised the Sthavira (of Vikramaśīla)

to bring you back within three years. I am not brave enough to go to hell! You had better return to India!" The Master said to him: "O lo-tsā-ba! No fault will arise, should one be unable to carry out (the promise)", and he comforted him. 'Brom's letter was transmitted to Ka-ba by Žan-dBan-phyug-mgon, and Ka-ba paid great attention to the matter. He informed Žan-čhen-po of rGyal, and others, and when they were about to proceed ahead with the invitation, Khu-ston discovered that his name was not included in the letter and became displeased. He thought that he should meet the Master before all others, and escort him (here), and so he went. To others this action of Khu-ston was like a lash. When the great men (notables) of dbUs had reached dPal-than, they found that the Master and his retinue had already reached Upper dPal-than, for the Master had received the message when still at sKyi-ron. There he saw in the distance the Tibetan teachers coming, wearing high-pointed hats, mantles and riding on horseback. The Master said to 'Brom "O upasaka! Many devils (asuras) are coming!" and hid his head. The Tibetan teachers having ridden up, dismounted from their horses, put off their hats and mantles, (7a)
and appeared wearing religious robes (cīvara). The Master was pleased, and greeted the congregation. Then the Tibetan teachers withdrew, and the Master and his retinue resumed their journey. When they reached rGyan, the monks held a reception for the Master and pleased him. After that the Master proceeded to Tsha-sna, a place in the north, and preached the Doctrine to a multitude of people. Through the miraculous powers of the Master a spring appeared (the text has gnas-čhuń which probably stands for gnas-čhu). On the road to gTsań, the Master did not receive a great reception and therefore he went towards Ñan-tsho (near Śel-dkar in gTsań). There the people held an excellent reception in honour of the Master, and there also he received several excellent disciples including Yol-čhos-dbań and others. When they were proceeding to Roń, the Master and his retinue

happened to run short of provisions. At Lha, a nun entertained the Master for a day. She presented the Master with the image of a horse made of gold on which a small boy made of turquoise was riding, and the Master was pleased, and said. "The merit acquired by entertaining a traveller coming from afar, aged parents and invalids, is equal to meditation on Śūnyatā!" It is said that this nun later became the saint known as "Old Lady" (Jo-mo sGre-mo). In the Life of Roṅ-zom, composed by Yol-ston rDo-rJe dbaṅ-phyug, it is said "They once asked the Master to discuss the Doctrine with the child (Roṅ-zom was a child at that time) The Master said. "I am unable to debate with him! Because he is Kṛṣṇācārya!" Then when they came to gNam-byaṅ-thaṅ, the Master pointed his finger at a hill, opposite Lha-sa, and asked: "What is there?" and they replied that there was the Temple of Lha-sa. "It is right" said the Master, "because many devaputras and devaputrīs are making offerings in Heaven". Then at 'Chuṅ-ru a girl who was going to be married, offered the Master her head-ornaments, and when the parents scolded her, she jumped into the river gTsaṅ-po. (7b)
At gŽuṅ-sgra mkhar the Master performed the rite of the maṇḍala of Sarvavid (Kun-rig) for the dead girl, and said: "My daughter! Well done! Now she is reborn in the heaven of the Thirty-Three gods." On reaching sNa-bo-la, they hoisted banners and blew large brass trumpets invented by Lha-btsun-pa. The crowd (of villagers) ran away, shouting: "War has come!" On arrival in Dol, (the inhabitants) did not prepare a general reception for the Master and his retinue, but instead invited each of them in turn to each house. The Master remained behind. It was said that the descendants of the man who had invited the Master, became prosperous. There in order to benefit living beings, the Master built a dyke (rags). Now the place is known as Lha-rJe rags. At Gra-phyi tshoṅ-'dus (a great trade-mart in Lho-kha), a small household (gnas-čhuṅ) prepared a good reception, and the Master asked: "Where is the monastery?"

(i.e. bSam-yas), and they replied: "It is seen from the mountain spur over there". The Master became pleased. Having reached the ferry of sPel-dmar, they proceeded towards Chos-'khor bSam-yas. Lha-btsun Bodhirāja (a descendant of the royal line of Sroṅ-btsan) arranged a good reception for them, and numerous Tibetan teachers and notables assembled. Khu-ston praised his country to the Master and the Master promised to visit it, and journeyed to Thaṅ-po-che. There the Master resided for one month at Rags-rtsigs khaṅ-pa. There 'Brom also joined him. Since Khu did not arrange a proper reception, the Master and his retinue fled from the place, and entered the ferry-boat of Myaṅ-po. When the (boat) had covered about a third of the river width, Khu-ston overtook them and emitting a loud cry, he begged, but was unable to induce (the Master) to turn back. The Master threw back his hat as an object of worship. Then the Master and his retinue spent a month at 'On-lha-khaṅ Ke-ru. On one of the temple walls the image of the Master was painted, and is venerated even in the present time. After that the Master proceeded to bSam-yas and took up residence at dPe-dkar gliṅ. (Residing) there he prepared with the assistance of the lo-tsā-ba (Nag- *(8a)*
tsho) many translations, such as the Ñi-khri snaṅ-ba, the Commentary on the Theg-bsdus (Theg-chen bsdus-pa, Mahāyāna-saṃgraha/The Mahāyāna-samgraha-bhāṣya was translated by Dīpankaraśrījñāna and Nag-tsho, Tg. Sems-tsam, No. 4050/), composed by the ācārya Vasubandhu, and other texts. The Master also saw there many Indian manuscripts, and when he noticed many manuscripts which were not to be found in India, he said: "It seems the Doctrine had first spread in Tibet, even more than in India. These books, were they not obtained by the ācārya Padma from the abode of asuras?" On the whole, the Master was very pleased with the monastery and intended to stay there for a considerable time. The Master heard that one named the Lady 'Chims-mo (Jo-mo 'Chims-mo) was teaching children many wicked

words (about him), and decided to go to another place. 'Brom then sent a letter to Baṅ-ston, and the latter came to bSam-yas to welcome the Master with about 200 horsemen. The Master and his retinue proceeded to rGod-dkar La. For half a month the Master resided at rGya-phibs of Sri. Then he proceeded to sÑe-thaṅ, where many student had gathered. The Master bestowed precepts and temporary assistance to yogins, including dGon-pa-pa and others, at Bur, as well as established there a meditative hermitage. He read on one occasion the Abhisamayālaṃkāra to an assembly of numerous hearers at sÑe-thaṅ. At that time he gave a brief outline of the text only, and since the people were not satisfied, the Master gave also an extensive exposition. This was written down by Phya-dar ston-pa and became known as the "Prajñā-pāramitā according to the method of Khams" (Phar-phyin Khams-lugs-ma). It is said that when he was expounding the Ñi-khri snaṅ-ba, not more than 14 kalyāna-mitras attended. He also bestowed on 'Brom at sÑe-thaṅ precepts on the instructions to the three classes of living beings./

After that the Master was invited by rÑog Legs-pa'i śes-rab to Lha-sa. Avalokiteśvara assuming the form of a white man welcomed the Master. When the Master saw the excellence of the images and vihāras, it occured to him that there must exist a story about their erection. A ḍākinī known as the "Mad-One of Lha-sa" uttered a prediction, following which (8b) the Master was able to extract the history of Lha-sa from inside a beam (in the J̌o-khaṅ), but she did not allow him to keep it for more than one day. All his disciples shared the manuscript and prepared copies of it. In the evening of the same day, the manuscript was again hidden inside the beam (ka-ba śiṅ-lo-čan of the J̌o-khaṅ, see rGyal-ba lṅa-pa'i Lha-sa'i-dkar-čhag, fol. 14a). Then on the request of rÑog, the Paṇḍita and the lo-tsā-ba (Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba) translated the Mādhyamakahṛdayavṛttitarkajvālā (Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3856). In order to explain the text, the Master composed the large and short dbU-ma'i man-ṅag (the Mādhy-

amaka-upadeśa, and the Ratnakaraṇḍodghāta-nāma-Mādhyamakopadeśa, Tg. dbU-ma, Nos. 3229, 3930). After that he spent (some time) at sÑe-than. One day the Master behaved in a child-like fashion: inside his cell he discharged his bowels in small quantities all over the floor. 'Brom ston-pa cleaned (the floor) well, and did not feel any disgust at the conduct (of the Master's) physical body. Since that time, he ('Brom) developed the miraculous power (abhijñā) of reading the thoughts of others who were residing at a distance of 18 daily flights of a vulture (i.e. at a distance which could be covered by a vulture in eighteen days). The wealth which the Master had amassed while preaching to others, was despatched on three occasions through Čhag-Khri-mčhog and other disciples to India for offering to the Teacher and the monastic community (of Vikramaśīla). The exposition of fundamental texts (by the Master) He did not compose any other book, except those mentioned above. The bestowing of precepts he bestowed them on individuals who were numerous. There were also some who had attained miraculous powers (siddhis) in secret. After that the Master proceeded to Yer-pa, and rÑog Byan-čhub 'byun-gnas entertained him. He requested the Master, that the Master and the lo-tsā-ba (Nag-tsho) should translate the commentary on the Mahāyāna-Uttaratantra, composed by the ācārya Asaṅga, and they translated it. While the Master was in residence there, 'Brom went to see his relatives in order to ask them for gold. Having obtained many requisities, he came back. At Yer-pa he offered the Master many presents which became known as the "Great Offering of 'Brom" ('Brom-gyi 'bul-mo-čhe). After the Master had been invited by Ka-ba Śākya dbaṅ-phyug, he preached extensively at Lan-pa (a Lan-pa mi-tshan exists in the sGo-mans grwa-tshaṅ of 'Bras-spuṅs) spyil-bu of 'Phan-yul. One day the Master fell from the preacher's chair, and said: "There is a great demon here! Why did you not inform me?" And he then addressed the demon: "Be ready!" and having performed

the sādhana of Hayagrīva accompanied by four ḍākinīs (śvāna, dog-headed ḍākinīs), he subdued (the demon). Thus sÑe-thaṅ, Lha-sa, Yer-pa and Lan-pa, are the places where the Master preached extensively the Doctrine. Then again he proceeded to sÑe-thaṅ. (The Master's) physical strength (9a) having declined, Nag-tsho said to him: "The Master will be unable to translate the larger texts. The shorter one, 'Brom will be able to translate himself." The Master spent six months for the sake of his health at 'Chims-phu. Then again he returned to sÑe-thaṅ. Formerly, when the Master was residing at Khab Guṅ-thaṅ, he said (to Nag-tsho): "I intended to hear the exposition of the Guhya-samāja according to the system of Nāgārjuna from a disciple of Nā-ro-pa, named the Kashmirian Jñānākara." The lo-tsā-ba was surprised to hear it, and he asked his Nepālese host that if a scholar of this name should arrive in Nepāl, a message should be sent to him. The lo-tsā-ba then received at sÑe-thaṅ a message saying that Jñānākara had come to Nepāl. Nag-tsho seeing that the health of the Master was deteriorating, did not wish to separate from him, but feeling that he would be unable to meet the paṇḍita (Jñānākara), he felt sad.

Afflicted by sorrow, his body became emaciated. Then the Master himself ordered him: "It is difficult to meet kalyāṇa-mitras of the Mahāyāna. You, lo-tsā-ba, should go yourself! I also shall not remain for long, and we shall meet in Tuṣita." Then Nag-tsho made the following two requests: that he might be given at the time of his death permission to be reborn in Tuṣita in the Master's presence, and that the Master should appear at the time of the consecration ceremony of the image of the Master which will be unveiled in his native place. The Master promised him. With reference to this story, the bKa'-gdams-pas of later times imputed that the lo-tsā-ba, who had left the Master at the time of the Master's passing into Nirvāṇa, did not keep (his) vows. Śar-ba-pa expressed his disapproval of this in the

account written by him: "The present day's lack of felicity is due (to the action) of this lo-tsā-ba. But our bKa'-gdams-pas are often addicted to slander." In connecton with this (it must be added) that in general, when the Master came to Tibet, 'Brom-ston acted as supporter (bdag-gñer) and helper, and the Master used to open his Mind to him only. While staying at bSam-yas, the Master bestowed on 'Brom at 'Chims-phu numerous methods (thabs) concerning Tantric ceremonies, the Dohā (Saraha's) and many other hidden precepts. 'Brom's chief purpose was to expel persons of immoral (9b) conduct who were conducting themselves according to the word of the Tantra, from the class held by the Master. Therefore he pretended not to have studied secret texts. In this connection, Je-btsun Mid-la when he met Dags-po Lha-rJe, expressed his disapproval (of 'Brom's attitude). The Master said to 'Brom: "You should build a small monastery, and I shall entrust my teaching to you. Keep it!" 'Brom replied: "In general, I am unfit to do it, and in particular, I am only an upāsaka unable to perform great works." The Master replied: "Do the work according to my instructions! I shall bless you. Do not despair!" On the 20th day of the middle autumn month of the year Wood-Male-Horse (śiṅ-pho-rta—1054 A.D.) the Master proceeded to Tuṣita. In the writings of ancient bKa'-gdams-pas there is much disagreement as to the elements (dbaṅ-thaṅ) of this Horse year, but I have given (the date) after a thorough examination of the different dates mentioned in the "Lives" (of contemporary) teachers. This year Wood-Male-Horse is certain. At the time of the Master's death, the lo-tsā-ba (Nag-tsho) was 44. In general, he attended for 19 years on the Master, and obtained from him most of the secret precepts. According to the account of the siddha 'Khon-phu-pa: "He himself was the next incarnation of Nag-tsho." Later Nag-tsho translated many texts, assisted by Jñānākara, the Nepālese Śāntibhadra, Kṛṣṇa-Samayavajra (Nag-po Dam-tshig rDo-rJe) and others. The five special disciples of the Master were: the mahāpaṇḍi-

ta Pi-to-pa, Dharmākaramati, the Lion of the Mādhyamika, Mitraguhya (bśes-gñen gsaṅ-ba), Jñānamati and the paṇḍita Kṣitigarbha. Among his Tibetan disciples were: Lha-btsun-pa, Byaṅ-čhub-'od, uncle and nephew, the great lo-tsā-ba Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po, the ascetic Gumi, Nag-tso Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, sTon-pa Yaṅ-rab from gLo-bo, Guṅ-thaṅ sGom-pa tshul-khrims, Śes-rab 'byuṅ-gnas, Čhag Khri-mčhog of Lho-brag, bTsun-pa dGe-skyoṅ, rGya-brtson-seṅ, dGe-ba'i blo-gros, Śākya blo-gros, Tshul-khrims 'byuṅ-gnas, Lha-čhen-po, gZus rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan, from Upper gTsaṅ. the elder and the younger Brag-ston, Leṅ and 'Brog; from Lower gTsaṅ: 'Gar-dge-ba of Roṅ, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba, Yol-Čhos-dbaṅ, the three brothers, rDziṅ-kha-pa of gNam, Baṅ-ston, rṄog; Sum-pa, sNa-nam, Myaṅ-mi, Mal Śes-rab sems-pa, dPon Čhos-rgyal, 'Gos-sTon-btsan, Lhab-mi čhen-po, sGro Ārya Byaṅ-tshul, Seṅ-ge rgyal-mtshan of Khu-mdo, Lha-rje bSam-gtan, Žaṅ-btsun Yer-pa-ba, sGom-pa Dad bla-ma, Sum-pa mThu-čhen, Khu-ston, rṄog Legs-pa'i śes-rab, 'Brom ston-pa rGyal-ba'i 'byuṅ-gnas, rNal-'byor-pa čhen-po, A-mes Byaṅ-čhub 'byuṅ-gnas, whose real name was Byaṅ-čhub Rin-čhen, dGon-pa-pa 'Dzeṅ dBaṅ-phyug rgyal-mtshan, the yogin Śes-rab rdo-rje, Phyā-dar ston-pa and Byams-pa'i bLo-gros. The last ones were known as the "Four or Five Khams-pa brothers." On the cremation of the Master's remains no relics were left behind. But at sÑe-thaṅ a rain of gold fell and even in later times people used to find gold there. While 'Brom-ston-pa afflicted by great sorrow, was pondering as to what he should do, Ka-ba Śākya dbaṅ-phyug arrived there, and divided the ashes of the Master equally between Khu, rṄog and others. Images and objects of meditation (thugs-dam lha) he gave to 'Brom. Khu, rṄog and 'Gar dGa'-ba erected silver shrines to preserve the relics given to them. Then having gathered the offerings, presented by Ka-ba and others, they held a great memorial ceremony in the Sheep year (1055 A.D.). "Should there happen to be any one belonging to Bha-rag, they should

(10a)

assist me" saying so, 'Brom built a vihāra at sÑe-thaṅ. During the life-time of the Master, those whom he used to support, were called the "sa-dra of the Master", sa-dra meaning "class or crowd" in Tibetan. 'Brom took into his (10*b*) service all those whom the Master used to support, and proceeded to sTod-luṅs. He spent some time in the sandy valley of gNam. About that time the chiefs of 'Dam held a council and resolved to invite 'Brom to Rwa-sgreṅ. He also received an invitation from 'Phaṅ-kha Ber-čhuṅ. In the New Year of the Fire-Male-Ape year (me-pho-spre'u—1056 A.D.) he proceeded to Rwa-sgreṅ. There he built the main shrine with the two columns (at present this shrine built by 'Brom is preserved inside the Temple of Rwa-sgreṅ) and the upper court-yard. After that, he never again participated in worldly matters, saying: "I shall now give up the world", and only preached the Doctrine. Phu-čhuṅ-ba, a disciple of the Master, attended on 'Brom.

sPyan-sna: was born in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—1038 A.D.). From childhood he took up ordination in the presence of Mal Śes-rab sems-dpa' at sTod-luṅs, and had great faith. His mother said to him: "If you insist on entering religion, then go to the residence of 'Brom at Rwa-sgreṅ." At the age of 20, in the year Fire-Female-Hen (me-mo-bya—1057 A.D.) he proceeded to Rwa-sgreṅ.

The kalyāṇa-mitra Po-to-ba: was born in the year Iron-Female-Sheep (lčags-mo-lug—1031 A.D.), and took up ordination in the presence of gLan Tshul-byaṅ of rGyal Lha-khaṅ ('Phan-yul). For one year, he acted as the steward (gñer-ba) of the monastic community of Brags-rgyab ('Phan-yul). As his share as monk, he did not receive even the whey of curds. He performed the ceremony of mDo-maṅs, and thought of proceeding to Khams, of hiding his name and origin, and of becoming a meditative ascetic. When he was 28, in the year Earth-Male-Dog (sa-pho-khyi—1058 A.D.), he proceeded to Rwa-sgreṅ. There he obtained faith in 'Brom and remained there. In this manner Phu-čhuṅ-ba, Po-to ba and sPyan-sṅa-

ba became known as the "Three Brothers" (sku-mčhed rnam-gsum). 'Brom taught his disciples disgust towards the World, and introduced their minds to the very essence of the Doctrine. During the life-time of 'Brom there were not more then 60 meditative ascetics, residing permanently (at Rwa-sgreṅ). The bKa'-gdams-pas call them: maṅ-mi-gtso gruṅ-gtso (a wise leader of a crowd). Understanding was born in Po-to-ba, as soon as 'Brom had taught him the Doctrine. 'Brom said to sPyan-sṅa: "All say that it is impossible to read the 84000 sections of the Doctrine, therefore meditate (11a) well on the śūnyatā only. When the smoke from the morning meal will grow thick, come alone (to see me)!" He bestowed on him many Tantric precepts of the Master, and he became known as sPyan-sṅa ("attendant"). To Phu-čhuṅ-ba, 'Brom taught the Doctrine with reference to the Four Noble Truths. The ācāryas who followed these received the appellation of bKa'-gdams-pas. They were called so, because they believed and preached that an individual should practise the entire teaching of the Jina (the Sūtra and Tantra/ Theravāda and Mahāyāna/). With reference ro this, the Dharmasvāmin 'Bri-khuṅ-pa used to say again and again: "There are no secret precepts more profound than the teaching of the Jina". The "Three Brothers" and others, mentioned above, having thoroughly completed their training, 'Brom lived for nine years more at Rwa-sgreṅ. 'Brom passed away at the age of sixty, in the year Wood-Male-Dragon (śiṅ-pho-'brug—1064 A.D.). At the time of his passing away, he said to Po-to-ba: "I did not discover any one else who could be your teacher. Look upon the sūtras as (your) teacher. Gaze upwards, and hold erect your shoulders." The chief disciples of the kalyāṇa-mitra ('Brom) sTon-pa: were Kyu-ra gŽon-nu 'od-zer, Lhab-mi Śes-rab gyuṅ-druṅ, Ka-ba rGya-gar, Rug-pa'i Žaṅ-čhen-po, Bran-ka Jo-btsun, Kam Yuṅ-pa, Yuṅ-pa Ka-skyog-po, Yol-rdzoṅ rNal-'byor-pa, sTon-pa Yon-tan-'bar, sGom-pa Rin-čhen bla-ma, A-mes sMan-rgan, sGa-sgom Ag-tshoms,

sTon-pa dBaṅ-phyug-'bar, Pha-rgan lDoṅ-ston, Jo-bo-legs, Kham-pa Luṅ-pa čhen-po, the "Three Brothers" and others. 'Brom was very learned in both Tantras and Sūtras. He kept secret the Vajrayānic doctrine, and did not teach it extensively. Among the Sūtra texts he corrected the translation of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā (brGyad-stoṅ-pa), the Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ālokā by Haribhadra (brGyad-stoṅ 'grel-čhen), the Sphūṭārtha ('grel-čhuṅ), the Ñi-khri snaṅ-ba and other texts. Among the Tantras he corrected the translation of the Jñānasiddhi (Ye-śes grub-pa). He used to say: "The main point of my understanding of (11b) the Mādhyamika is Nothingness." By this he meant the Absolute Negation (med-dgag) of existence, for Dharmakīrti had said: "The Absolute Negation of existence is Nothingness" (med-par dgag-pa ni či-yaṅ ma-yin-pa'i phyir-ro) in his Auto-commentary (svavṛtti) on the First Chapter of the Pramāṇavārtika. After 'Brom's death, rNal-'byor-pa čhen-po (rNal-'byor A-mes) acted as Abbot (of Rwa-sgreṅ). He used to be groom and domestic attendant of the Master. He had first met the Master at Ñan-tsho and had thoroughly studied the Doctrine under him.

Even, while he was attending on the Master, he used to meditate and became known as a yogin. It is said, that he was a better scholar than 'Brom-ston in the two Truths, as expounded by the Master (bden-pa gñis: Don-dam-pa and Kun-rdzob bden-pa). From the year Wood-Female-Serpent (śiṅ-mo-'sbrul—1065 A.D.) till the year Earth-Male-Horse (sa-pho-rta—1078 A. D.), for 14 years, he acted as Abbot (of Rwa-sgreṅ). He exerted himself to complete the lower yard of Rwa-sgreṅ, etc. which were left unfinished by 'Brom-ston. At first he experienced some trouble in doing it, but later his fortune increased, and his wish was fulfilled. He was born in the year Wood-Female-Hare (śiṅ-mo-yog—1015 A. D.), and lived till the age of 63, till the year Earth-Male-Horse (sa-pho-rta—1078 A. D.). His chief disciples were Rin-čhen sñiṅ-po of sTod-luṅs (near Lha-sa), Lhab-mi čhen-po,

the kalyāṇa-mitra Maṅ-ra and others. After him 'Dzeṅ dBaṅ-phyug rgyal-mtshan became Abbot of the monastery (Rwa-sgreṅ). He acted as Abbot for five years including the above mentioed Earth-Male-Horse year (sa-pho-rta—1078 A. D.). This dGon-pa-pa's family name was 'Dzeṅ, and his name was dBaṅ-phyug rgyal-mtshan. On his leaving Khams, he met the Master at Ñan-tsho. He presented to the Master a hundred pieces of silk, and made the request for instruction in meditative practice. The Master said: "Eat my food!" and he replied: "I have my own provisions." The Master then said: "If you will partake of my food, I shall instruct you in meditation; but if you do not do so, I shall not give you (instruction)." Since then he acted as priest to the Master. He meditated well, though he experienced many hindrances which were personally removed by the Master. Because of the power of his mind concentration, he obtained great supernatural powers. He was able to stop his breathing (luṅ gzuṅ-ste), to remain for three days without a single hair moving (on his (12a)
body), etc. While his disciples were thinking that he was now dead, he suddenly rose, and said: "I felt somewhat unwell, and therefore retained my breath"; he also exhibited his power of prescience without hiding it. He was born in the year Fire-Male-Dragon (me-pho-'brug—1016 A. D.) and passed away at the age of 67 in the year Water-Male-Dog (Chu-pho-khyi—1082 A. D.). He also had numerous disciples, such as sNe'u-zur-pa, Žaṅ-ka-ma-pa, gÑan sNa-me-ba and 'Bre-ko-de-luṅ-pa, these four being known as the "Four sons of dGon" (dGon-gyi bu-bži). Kha-rag sGom-čhun also obtained from him the precepts of the Master. Later he told Po-to-ba the manner of his mastering of precepts. After the death of dGon-pa-pa there was no Abbot (at Rwa-sgreṅ), and it was said that "there was religious hunger at Rwa-sgreṅ". Later Po-to-ba, who was labouring for the benefit of others, was invited and acted as Abbot for three years. On hearing that a Khams-pa named sGom-čhuṅ-ba

was speaking evil of him, saying that he was a bogus and boasting person, he fled during the night, but sNe'u-zur-pa overtook him at Pha-woṅ-thaṅ, and asked: "What is this conduct of the ācārya?" Po-to-ba replied: "What sort of manner is this to ask the ācārya about his conduct? I am going to the ruined temple of Rug-pa to see the 'Son of Li-mo' (Śa-ra-ba)?" and unwilling to stay, he resumed his journey. After that, there were several nominal abbots who all passed away before their time. And so it happened that no one was able to become Abbot of Rwa-sgreṅ. Then 'Od-'Jo took over the abbotship of Rwa-sgreṅ. Soon after him, the upādhyāya Gur-ston was elected, but did not stay long. After that the Elder (sthavira) of Rwa-sgreṅ invited rMa-ston, but rMa-ston did not wish to go (to Rwa-sgreṅ). He was presented by Lha 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po with a sacred caitya, covered with lotus leaves, a wooden image of the Muni, and a small painted image (than-sku) of Trak-śad, saying: "If you will not part with these, good will arise!" rMa-ston-pa was sent (to Rwa-sgren). (12b)
He lived long, and his labours were extensive. Later, while staying in retirement, the upādhyāya Śes-skor-ba was invited. He also stayed for a long time and then retired. 'Dul-ba 'dzin-pa was elected and laboured for a long time as scholar, and died at his post as upādhyāya. After him, the upādhyāya 'Jam-dbyans-pa acted as abbot for many years. At the beginning of the Fire-Female-Hen year (me-mo-bya—1477 A.D.), which is the 450th year since the last year (i.e. 1027 A.D.) of the period of 403 years (me-mkha' rgya-mtsho = 403), 495 years have passed from the birth of the Venerable Master (in 982 A.D.) to the Fire-Female-Ape year (me-pho-spre'u—1476 A. D.). Since the Master's coming to mÑa'-ris this year (me-mo-spre'u) is the 435th year (1476-435 = 1041 A.D.). The chapter on the Master, 'Brom ston and the monastery of Rwa-sgreṅ.

Phu-čhuṅ-ba gŽon-nu rgyal-mtshan used to say: "One should eat the carcass of a sheep by oneself"

(meaning that one should practise the Doctrine by oneself and not preach it to others). Therefore he did not maintain disciples and showed great diligence in the worship of the Ratna, and inwardly remained in meditation. He preached extensively the Four Truths to those who came to be introduced to the Doctrine (čhos-'brel žu-ba). He was born in the year Iron-Female-Sheep (lčags-mo-lug—1031 A. D.) and died at the age of 76 in the year Fire-Male-Dog (Me-pho-khyi—1106 A.D.). He had several wise yogin disciples including Karma-grags and others. Po-to-ba Rin-čhen gsal: After the death of 'Brom, he practised meditation till the age of 50. From the age of 51 he laboured for the benefit of others (i.e. preached the Doctrine). He resided temporarily at mKhan-grags ('Phan-yul), the sGro-lag monastery, at mThar-thog ('Phan-yul), sTag-luṅ (situated north of 'Phan-yul) and other monasteries. He had more than a thousand disciples who constantly followed him. Whenever others tried to harm him, he used to say: "In general, to become a monk, is a crucial matter, and especially so in the case of a Bodhisattva." He did not return harm (done to him by others).

In the domain of religion, he held in high esteem the Bodhipathapradīpa (Lam-gyi sgron-ma, Tg. dbU-ma, Nos. 3947,4465) of the Master. Besides this text, he also assiduously preached the Mahāyanasūtrālaṃkāra (Tg. Sems-tsam, No. 4020), the Bodhisattvabhūmi (Tg. Sems-tsam, No. 4037), the Śikṣāsamuccaya (Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3939), the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra (Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3871), the Jātakas (13a)
(Jātakamālā, Tg. sKyes-rabs, No. 4150) and the Udānavarga (Kg. mDo-sde, No.326. Tg. mṄon-pa, No. 4099). The bove are known as the "Six Basic" Texts of the bKa'-gdams-pas. Further, he taught numerous śāstras. Whenever he was expounding them, he did not leave out even a single word, but preached them for the sake of practice only. In later life having built the Po-to dgon-pa (in 'Phan-yul), he took up residence there. He used to say: "The so-called Mahāmudrā agrees in meaning with the Samādhirāja-sūtra,

but we should neither deprecate, nor practise it." In this manner he held in high esteem the Doctrine of the Venerable Master only. He used to say: "In truth, my upādhyāya seems to have been the "Old upāsaka of Rwa-sgren" ('Brom ston-pa). He did not consider his vows to correspond fully to a true Pratimokṣa before his going to Rwa-sgreṅ. He maintained that monastic vows which were not accompanied by a feeling of disgust towards the World, could be transformed into true Pratimokṣa vows by cultivating afterwards the feeling of disgust towards the World. This was known as the "transformed vows" (sdom-pa gnas-gyur). It is said that the high-sounding name of "bKa'-gdams" became famous during his time. The virtuous conduct of the sect and its spread are due to Po-to-ba. He had declared himself to be an incarnation of the ārya-sthavira Yan-lag-'byuṅ (Aṅgaja, one of the sixteen sthaviras, dwelling on Mount Kailāsa). He was born in the year Iron-Female-Sheep (lčags-mo-lug—1031 A. D.) and died at the age of 75 in the year Wood-Female-Hen (śiṅ-ma-bya—1105 A. D.). Among his great disciples were: from gÑal: gLaṅ-bya Rab-pa and gÑos Bra-gor-ba; from Dol: 'Be-mon-bu čhuṅ-ba and Rog-dmar Žur-ba; from Upper gTsaṅ: Bya and Phag, from Lower (gTsaṅ): Ram-sdin ma-ba and sNaṅ-dre'u Lhas-pa, from Upper Myaṅ: Lhag and Śes; from gYag-sde: Sog-po-ba, from bZaṅ: Gru-gu Lun-pa, Kha-rag sGom-čhun, 'Gos of gNas-khaṅ, Nags-ston mTha'-dag, Lho-stod-pa, Myan-po Ri-kha-pa, 'Khro-ston Ku-śu-ra-ba, Grog-pa brtson-seṅ, Zur-re-ba Mtha'-bži, gTsaṅ-pa mKhar-po-pa, Ko-de Luṅ-pa of rGyal, gYa'-nos-pa of Dar-yul, Ye-śes seṅ-ge, Wa-brag dkar-ba, sGro'i sTag-mgo-ba, (13b)
Pho-braṅ sdiṅs-pa of Grab, sGro-lag-pa of rGyal, 'Broṅs stoṅs-pa of rMa, Ban-de-ba Rin-byaṅ, Mag-pa gÑan-čhuṅ, Mal-gro-ba gLaṅ-sgom, Thaṅ-po-čhe-ba, dGon Mer-pa, Žaṅ-čhen-po of gYu-sgra, dGe-sbyoṅ čhen-po of La-mo, mDo-luṅ-pa, the "Upper" and "Lower" Žar-dgon-pas, sGyu-sbyaṅs dbaṅ-seṅ, Byar-pa Rin-gžon, sTod-luṅs-pa dBaṅ-phyug-grags, gLaṅ Ri-thaṅ-pa, Śar-ba-pa and many others able to work for the

welfare of living beings. Among these: in gTsaṅ—Ram and sNaṅ; in Upper gTsaṅ—Bya and Phag; from gÑal—gLaṅ and gÑos, from Dol—'Be and Rog—are "the Eight Great Ones." gLaṅ-thaṅ-pa and Śar-ba-pa are called the "Great Pillars of dbUs". Now Rog Śes-rab rgya-mtsho: he was the one known as Dol-pa dMar-žur-pa, and was born to a very learned Tantric in the year Earth-Female-Hog (sa-mo-phag—1059 A. D.). On taking up ordination, he studied the Abhidharma and the Vinaya with Rog mÑon-pa-pa and rGya 'Dul-'dzin who had recently become famous (lit. "Stuck out their heads"). In the year Wood-Male-Mouse (čhu-pho byi—1072 A. D.), the third year since the establishment by Po-to-ba of a monastic college, he was accepted by the kalyāna-mitra Dol-pa who was aged 26. He attended (on him) for 22 years, and after that laboured extensively for the welfare of living beings. It is said that he had more than 1000 disciples at Yaṅ-gaṅ. From him obtained the introduction into the Doctrine (čhos-'brel, dharmabandha) 'Gro-mgon Phag-mo Gru-pa. He died at the age of 73 in the year Iron-Female-Hog (lčags-mo-phag—1131 A. D.). rGya 'Dul-'dzin had studied the Vinaya for thirty-three years, out of his 85 years. Before Dol-pa had visited Po-to-ba, Dol-pa said: "Before I heard the Vinaya from rGya 'Dul-'dzin, the new scholar. Therefore Po-to-ba and he seem to have begun and completed their labours for the welfare of living beings at the same time. (i.e. the beginning of the teaching by rGya'Dul-'dzin and the end of the teaching by Po-to-ba seem to be contemporaneous events). The Chapter on Po-to-ba and Rog. gLaṅ Ri-thaṅ-pa rDo-rje seṅ-ge was born in year Wood-Male-Horse (śiṅ-pho-rta—1054 A. D.) and lived for (14a) seventy years, till the year Water-Female-Hare (čhu-mo-yos—1123 A. D.). During a considerable time he maintained an assembly (of disciples). Following the custom of Po-to-ba, he trained disciples with the help of the great treatises, such as the "Five Treatises of Maitreya" (Byams-čhos-sde-lṅa) and others. On one occasion he expressed the solemn vow not to abandon

monkhood throughout all (his) future existences. On one occasion the voice of the mule of Śrī-Devī came out clearly, saying: "During all that time I shall befriend you." Khyuṅ-po rNal-'byor, saying that gLaṅ Ri-thaṅ-pa was a manifestation of the Budda Amitābha, cut his hair in the presence of gLaṅ Ri-than-pa. gLaṅ-thaṅ-pa also became a disciple of sNe'u-zur-pa. From among his two thousand disciples, there were many, such as Yar-kluṅs Lčags-žiṅ-pa, 'Dul-'dzin of Ba-yags, Luṅ-mo-pa mDo-sde, Žaṅ-btsun gÑan, 'Gar Žaṅ-žuṅ-pa, Ma-thaṅ-pa, Ñe-mal-pa and others. Śa-bo sGaṅ-pa Padma byaṅ-čhub was also a disciple of gLaṅ-thaṅ-pa, and was born in the year Fire-Female-Sheep (me-mo-lug—1067 A D.), when gLan-thaṅ-pa was thirteen. He died at the age of 65 in the year Iron-Hog (lčags-phag—1131 A. D.). He gathered round himself about a thousand disciples. gLaṅ-thaṅ-žaṅ acted as abbot of gLaṅ-than (in 'Phan-yul). He was succeeded as abbots by the kalyāṇa-mitra gÑan, the ācārya sGom-pa, the kalyāna-mitra 'Gar-pa and the ācārya gTsaṅ-pa. Then gLaṅ-thaṅ was entrusted to Saṅs-rgyas-dbon of rGya-ma. This gLaṅ-thaṅ-žaṅ was also met by Phag-mo gru-pa (this means that the latter was his disciple). The Chapter on gLaṅ-thaṅ.

The great Śar-ba-pa: He was born in the year Iron-Male-Dog (lčags-pho-khyi—1070 A.D.) as son of a nomad at Byaṅ Rom-po. In his youth, the parents gave him a bride, but he did not stay (in his house) and proceeded to Po-to-ba, took up ordination and heard the latter's instructions. He was known to possess great wisdom, and was said to know by heart the entire bKa'-'gyur. After the death of Po-to-ba, most of the latter's disciples assembled round him. Later he was known to have had about 3600 disciples. The greater part of his teaching consisted of the exposition of the main texts. In particular, when he was explaining the Uttaratantra in the translation of the Master and Nag-tsho, an incomplete translation of the same text by rÑog was brought to the class, and (14b)
during his second exposition of the text, the students used mostly this translation by rÑog. He rebuked them slightly,

saying: "Unfortunate men! You do not trust the translation made by the Master." But after that, on the two last occasions he expounded the text according to the translation of rṄog. When Pa-tshab lo-tsā-ba came from India, he preached the Mādhyamika doctrine, but the number of (attending) monks was small. Śar-ba-pa offered him many of his own novices as disciples. When Śar-ba-pa read the texts of the Mādhyamika translated by Pa-tshab, he sent him a message, which read: "(In my opinion) this and that passage should be translated in such and such a way." Pa-tshab again read through the Sanskrit original and saw that (Śar-ba-pa's) words were correct. In general, he praised Pa-tshab greatly for his teaching of the Mādhyamika, and assisted him in a sincere manner. At Rwa-sgreṅ, he took away the Sūtrasamuccaya (Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3934), a book which had belonged to the Master, and paid for its translation, which was made by the Kashmirian Jayānanda, the lo-tsā-ba Pa-tshab Ñi-ma-grags and Khu-mDo-sde-'bar. He became master of the Doctrine. Though the other bKa'-gdams-pas maintained that the cittotpāda rites according to the Mādhyamikas and the Vijñānavādins differed greatly, but he having quoted constantly and having based himself on the svavṛtti of the Pathapradīpa (Lam-sgron) wrote a treatise which established the similarity of the two rites in respect of the types of individuals (on whose behalf the rites were performed. Now-a-days this rite is known as Sems-bskyed mčhod-pa. The rite is usually performed at the end of a recitation of the Lam-rim.). Later, the All-knowing bLo-bzaṅ-grags-pa'i dpal (Tsoṅ-kha-pa) maintained the same theory. Śar-ba-pa laboured greatly for the welfare of living beings, and passed away at the age of 72 in the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—1141 A.D.). From among his 3600 disciples: Prajñājvāla, Nag-sod dPe-ston, Ban-čhen sKyas-bu of lDan, Śes-rab rdo-rje of gŽo, gTum-ston of sNar-thaṅ, Grags-pa Seṅ-ge of Bya, 'Jiṅ-pa dGye-luṅ-pa, Byaṅ-čhub-grags of La-stod, rTsed-pa of Lower Myaṅ, rGyu-bug-pa of Śaṅs, gTsaṅ-gad (15a)

gÑos-pa, Khu-le'i Kha-mo zer-ston, 'Be-dkar of Upper Myaṅ, Myaṅ-ro-pa, Bya-rgyus-pa, Jo-sras of Upper Myaṅ, Śar-ba-pa bLo-gros-grags, rGya-ston of gTsaṅ, Žar-čhos of Po-doṅ, dGe-'dun -skyabs of gÑal, gYor-ston of Myaṅ-po, the "former" and the "latter" Tshes-pas, gÑos-ston of gÑal, Dar-rin of gÑal, Jo-sras Koṅ-po, Lho-pa Dar-ma-grags, Myaṅ of Sol-thaṅ, sBa-'dul of Nag-mo, Tshul śe of Žogs, the "latter" Žar-dgon-pa, sKyo-ston of Yuṅ, sTod-luṅs Mon-gra-pa, Lho-pa Dar-ston, Byaṅ-grags of rGyal, Bya-ston 'Čhad-ka-pa, sTabs-kha-ba, the Great, and many other holy men Among them Bya 'Čhad-kha-pa: His native place was Lu-ro. His family name was Bya. Since his childhood he had been a disciple of Ras-čhuṅ-pa of Lo-ro. He was ordained at Lo-ro Žiṅ-gsar by the upādhyāya known as rTse-ber-ba. Dags-po gTsaṅ-'dul acted as his preceptor. He received the name of Ye-śes rdo-rJe. He went as attendant of Ras-čhuṅ-pa to a religious assembly of Ṅor-rJe-btsan Bho-ra at gÑal. The assembly was presided over by rṄog lo-tsā-ba and many kalyāna-mitras discussed the siddhānta. Faith was born in him and he proceeded in search of religion. At gYe, he requested full ordination from the kalyāṇa-mitra sGre-pa, asking him to become his upādhyāya, but the latter refused. When Tsha-ron Jo-stan and Dags-po gTsaṅ-'dul arrived at the residence of the great sGre-pa, he requested them to act as his upādhyāya and ācārya, and thus received the monastic vows. When he was studying the Vinaya under Śa-mi, he went to a religious assembly held in Yar-kluṅs. There he met the kalyāṇa-mitra Myaṅ Lags-žiṅ-pa. From him he heard the "Eight Sentences" (Tshig-brgyad-ma) of gLaṅ-Ri-thaṅ-pa, and faith was born in him. For four years, he attended on the kalyāṇa-mitras Dol-pa and Lugs-smad-pa. Then at the age of 20, he proceeded to dbU-ru and met accidentally a disciple of gLaṅ Ri-thaṅ-pa at the guest-house of Lha-sa. While the disciple was reciting aloud the Tshig-brgyad-ma of gLaṅ Ri-thaṅ-pa, 'Čhad-kha-pa inquired: (15b)
"Whose is it?" and he replied: "It is gLaṅ Ri-thaṅ-pa's.

He died. After his death, gÑan and 'Dul-ba 'dzin-pa disagreed about the abbotship," on hearing this, he went to Śar-ba-pa, the Great, who was residing at Khaṅ-pa-gnas of gŽo. He attended the classes, but the words of the bLo-sbyoṅ (Tshig-brgyad-ma) did not appear clear to him. Therefore one day, when the monks had gone to a festival, he came into the presence of Śar-ba-pa who was engaged in circumambulating a stūpa, and made the following request, spreading his upper garment on the ground: "Pray, sit here!" The latter inquired: "While staying on it, what must I do?". He said: "Advise me!"—"All advices had been given from the religious chair. What is there that is not clear?" said Śar-ba-pa. He then repeated the words of the Tshig-brgyad-ma, and said: "There was such a śloka. I esteem it. Will it be useful or not as the Path?" Śar-ba-pa said: "I do not care for your esteem or disregard! You Master-scholar! If you do not accept the Buddha, then leave it! If you do accept, then how can you succeed without training your mind and maintaining such views?"—"Well then! Pray cite a quotation (from the text) to prove it!" Śar-ba-pa replied: "Who is it, who does not trust Lord Nāgārjuna? Did he not say (in the Rin-čhen phreṅ-ba /Ratnāvali/): "May their sins ripen on me! Let all my virtues mature on them." ("This passage explained the words of the Tshig-brgyad-ma: "Khe daṅ rgyal-kha gžan-la byin gyod daṅ bub kha-taṅ-gis blaṅs." "Give gain and victory to others, and accept loss and blows for yourself").

He then asked: "Now, pray teach me the precepts of this (Doctrine)." Śar-ba-pa replied: "O Lord! Protect yourself from accidents! I shall bestow on you the secret precepts gradually". Then during 13 years he constantly taught him the ślokas of the bLo-sbyoṅ ("Mental training", here Tshig-brgyad-ma) and an understanding of it was born in his mind. He wrote the following words: "Because of my great selfishness, I had made a request for the secret precepts in order to subdue egotism, without distinguishing

between happiness and misfortune, and evil words. Now, even if I were to die, I would not regret." These precepts seem not to have been given by Śar-ba-pa to any others. In order to impress others, he listened to the precepts once again in the company of a native of the South. When he was attending classes, during which his Teacher expounded the (16a) text of the Uttaratantra, the Teacher said: "One's own happiness and virtues should be given away to living beings, my Masters. All sins and sufferings of living beings should be taken upon oneself. If you are able to carry out (this practice) in your Mind, then do like that!" He said: "I understand that my Teacher had said this for my sake, others did not understand it." During that time, he attended on his Teacher for two years at gŽo, for six years at dGe-goṅ, as well as at Śar-ba. Then he resided in turn at Byen and other places. While residing at 'Gres-phu, he said to his attendants: "If you have butter, then let us offer a butter soup to the meditative ascetics! We should hold a name-giving festival on the occasion of giving a name to this Doctrine." He taught the Don-bdun-ma (bLo-sbyoṅ Don-bdun-ma). At 'Gres-phu sgom-čhen-sdiṅs he taught it to a class and the custom of teaching the bLo-sbyoṅ to a class (of monks) originated from that time. Then he proceeded to Mal-gro and founded the monastery of Old 'Chad-kha ('Chad-kha rñiṅ-ma in 'Phan-yul). He also prophecised to Se Spyil-bu-pa that the latter will found the present day "New" 'Chad-kha. Then he visited Bya Ṅur-mo. He composed the mThar-thug-gsum-gyi gdams-pa ("Precepts of the three Sublimities") and an auto-biography in ślokas. He said: "Having given up my native country, friends and relatives, I produced virtue free from bonds of attachment. At the residence of my Teacher, I performed the virtuous act of study, reflection and meditation (thos-bsam-sgom gsum). Now, even if I were to die, I would not regret it. I did not worship my relatives as gods, I wore ragged clothes and kept to a low place. I did not show displeasure towards

my companions, I did not strive for fame and did not amass wealth. Now, even if I were to die, I would not regret it! I avoided flattery, ceremonies and rites, I did not worship my supporters as gods, I did not accept hospitality from nuns, I practised the life of the Great Sage (the Buddha). Now, even if I were to die, I would not regret it! I did not worship and honour those who had beauty and wealth, I did not engage in money lending and trade, I did not erect houses and monasteries. Now, even if I were to die, I would not regret it!" saying so, (16b) he passed away. This Bya 'Chad-kha-pa was born in the year Iron-Female-Serpent (lčags-mo-sbrul—1101 A.D.) in the 32nd year of Śar-ba-pa. When he was thiry, he met Śar-ba-pa in the Iron-Male-Dog (lčags-pho-khyi—1130 A.D.), when Śar-ba-pa was sixty-one. They associated for 12 years till the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—1141 A.D.). After that he lived for 34 years more. He passed into Nirvāṇa at the age of 75 in the year Wood-Female-Sheep (śiṅ-mo-lug—1175 A.D.). After him Se sPyil-bu-pa: his family name was Se. He was born at Dar-ma-sgaṅ in Upper gÑal in the year Iron-Ox (lčags-glaṅ—1121 A.D.). His name was Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan. For many years he followed on 'Chad-kha-pa. In the year Wood-Ape (śiṅ-spre—1164 A.D.) he founded the "New" 'Chad-kha. He also established a monastery at sPyil-bu. After the death of 'Chad-kha-pa, he resided alternatively in the above two monaseries for 14 years, between the year Fire-Ape (me-spre—1176 A.D.) aud the Earth-Hen (sa-bya—1189 A.D.) year.

His disciples the yogin Byaṅ-seṅ, rGya spaṅ-thaṅ-pa, Lha-dge-'dun-sgaṅ-pa, and Ñan Lha-sdiṅs-pa founded the monasteries of Gro-sa, sPaṅ-sa, dGe-'dun-sgaṅ and Ñan Lha-sdiṅs. He died in his (1189 A.D. 69th year) at sPyil-bu. (On the cremation of his remains) many wonderful relics appeared, including a relic in the shape of a conch wound towards the right (gyas-'khyil), etc. After him Lha (Lha means Prince, son of a king. S.C. Das, A.S.B. N.2 /1889/ p.47 misunderstood the title)—Luṅ-gyi dbaṅ-phyug, son of Jo-bo rNal-'byor and

dPal-'dren, lady of sNa-nam, who was born in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—1158 A.D.). When he was eight, he obtained from Gu-ri-ba, the Great, the vows of upavāsa (fasting, bsñen-gnas. The rule of upavāsa on the 8th and 15th of the month. Eight rules in all), and the permission (luṅ) to perform the offering rites. At the age of 14, he obtained from Gu-ri-ba the upāsaka vow. At the age of 15, he invited kLubs-dkar, the upādhyāya of rGya-ṅur, and from 'Čhims-phu the kalyāṇa mitra gTsaṅ-pa Khyuṅ-po, and requested kLubs-dkar to act as ācārya, and Khyuṅ-po as upādhyāya, and thus received ordination at Bya-sa. He received the name of Byaṅ-čhub rin-čhen. He also studied the Vinayakārikā (Tg.'Dul-ba, No. 4123) and heard twice the Sum-brgya-pa (Āryamūlasarvāstivādiśrāmanerakārikā, Tg.'Dul-ba, No. 4124) and mastered it. In the same year, he preached them at sPu-gu-no, and on seeing the image of the kalyāṇa-mitra Bya 'Čhad-kha-pa, he was filled with faith, and asked: "What is his name?" (174) They replied: "(He) is called 'Čhad-kha-pa. He is dead, but now Se is living." Faith was born in him also and he proceeded to the residence of Se. The monks built a hut for him by common effort. When he was 24, Se said to him: "Become a monk!" They invited from rGya-sar-sgaṅ the upādhyāya gLan, and asked him to act as upādhyāya (to perform the ceremony of ordination). The ācārya Žan performed the rite and gÑags acted as secret preceptor. Thus he received final ordination. He attended on many teachers, such as the Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen (the Great Paṇḍita of Kāśmīra—Śākya Śrībhadra) and others. After the death of Se Spyil-pa, Luṅ-gyi dbaṅ-phyug occupied the abbot's chair for 43 years, from the year Iron-Dog (lčags-khyi—1190 A.D.) to the year Water-Dragon (čhu-'brug—1232 A.D.). He died at the age of 75 in the year Water-Dragon (čhu-'brug—1232 A.D.). He possessed the wave of bodhicitta, and had many visions of tutelary deities, such as Don-yod žags-pa (Amoghapāśa) and others. He also received the permission (luṅ) of the entire Kangyur and

therefore became known as the "Lord of Permissions"—Luṅ-gi dbaṅ-phyug. Lha 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po: his father was Jo-'bag and his mother Lha-gčig (Princess) Dzam-gliṅ, sister of Lha (Prince) 'Dri-sgaṅ-pa. He was born in the year Fire-Male-Horse (me-pho-rta—1186 A.D.). When he was six, he obtained the upavāsa vows from the great Vinaydhara of dKor. At the age of 16, he proceeded to 'Čhad-kha into the presence of his uncle and obtained the upāsaka vows. Immediately after that, he requested sBal-til at sKyor-mo-luṅ to act as upādhāya at his ordination ceremony and the kalyāṇa-mitra Sthavira (gNas-brtan), a native of Gro-sa-ba, to act as ācārya. He was ordained as novice and received the name of Byaṅ-čhub-'od. Later he invited to Po-to the kalyāṇa-mitra gNas-brtan as upādhyāya, and from sPu-gu-ṅo the kalyāṇa-mitra rGyal-tsha to act as karma-ācārya. Jo-btsun acted as secret preceptor (gsaṅ-ston), and thus he received the final monastic ordination. He studied much with his uncle and after his death, became abbot in the year Water-Serpent (čhu-sbrul—1233 A.D.). He occupied the chair for 27 years till the year Earth-Sheep (sa-lug—1259 A.D.), and protected the Doctrine. The (17b)
Po-to elders (sthaviras) and the kalyāṇa-mitras who followed the basic texts of the bKa'-gdams-pas held a council, and presented him with the monastery of Po-to, together with its branch monasteries, as well as entrusted him with the keys of the temples of about 30 monasteries of Koṅ-po, headed by rTa-bar, sBu-čhu and Byaṅ-luṅ. From Dags-po—the monasteries and their serfs, headed by bLa-mda', and Kan-mon-śod. In later times, during a considerable period, he used to appoint in them temple-keepers (dkon-gñer) and magistrates (mi-dpon). From gÑal he received the invitation of Zaṅs-po, the Great. He performed the consecration ceremony of the great caitya (sku-'bum-čhen-mo). He was presented with the monastery of Zaṅs-po-čhe and its branch monasteries, as well as with the keys of the vihāra. He was invited to Roṅ-rtse-dkar to perform the consecration ceremony

of the "Great Sepulture" (gDun-khan čhen-mo), and was presented with the monastery and its branches. In subsequent periods, there were many followers of the Spiritual Lineage of sPyil-bu-pa at Zans-po-čhe and Bra-gor. From gYe-ru, Bu-dal and other places he had many supporters and teachers. In general, he also had visions of many tutelary deities and in particular, he could not be differentiated from Acala (Mi-gyo-ba). Therefore he was known as "Prince wearing a tiger skirt" (lha-stag-śam-čan). At Gon-pa-ri of Yar-kluns he had a vision of Siṃhanāda. At Po-to there had been an image of the Muni (the Buddha) who preached the Doctrine to him. At sPyil-bu while he was performing the ordination of a novice, the sixteen Elders (Sthaviras) manifested themselves. Since that time the number of painted banners (than-sku) representing (him) surrounded by the sixteen Sthaviras increased. He used to keep sixteen tshul-śin (small pieces of wood used in counting votes and taking the roll-call) for the sixteen Sthaviras during the opening ceremony of the summer retreat. During the tea ceremony, he used to recite a prayer in honour of the sixteen Sthaviras. At Lha-sa he received instruction from the Lord (Jo-bo). When he came to Rwa-sgren, the Master (Atiśa) manifested himself to him. At 'Dam an evil spirit having entered into a great image and nobody being able to drive it out, he went there and performed the ceremony of devil-expelling ('gegs), and two pigeons flew out of the arm-pits of the image. These transformed themselves into wolves. This was seen by all (present). Then he performed the (18a) ceremony of consecration (of the image). When 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po 'Phags-pa (qutoγtu) returned to his native place, the other kalyāṇa-mitras were sent back, but to the kalyāṇa-mitra gÑen, 'Gro-mgon said: "I cannot afford to part with you! Let us proceed together!" They proceeded as far as Sa-pho-sgan.

He laboured for the benefit of scholars, priests and notables, and died at the age of 74 in the year Earth-Female-Sheep

(sa-mo-lug—1259 A. D.) at sPyil-bu. After his cremation many relics were recovered (from the ashes), including images of gods, etc. In the Inner Reliquary (nań-rten) of sPyil-bu his eye was placed inside a golden image. (His) heart was taken to the monastery of 'Čhad-kha-pa and placed in the sepulchre of Ńo-sgra. (His) tongue was taken to sPu-gu-ńo and placed inside the image of Mahābodhi. Four conches, wound to the right, were also left behind. One was placed inside the golden image of Rug-pa. Another was placed in the tomb among the relics which formed the share of sPańs-sa-pa and is now preserved at Ńo-sgra. A third (conch) is now preserved at sPyil-bu and kept on exhibition of relics. bLo-gros Ye-śes of Lha-brag-kha: he was born at Bye-čhuń in the year Iron-Male-Dog (lčags-pho-khyi—1250 A. D.) as son of the Lord Śākya bKra-śis and sKyor-mo Dar-rgyan. He became a disciple of Lha 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po, and mastered, in the manner of a filled vase, all the knowledge of sBas-pa sTon-gžon. For 27 years he occupied the abbot's chair, from the year Iron-Male-Ape (lčags-pho-spre—1260 A. D.) to the year Fire-Dog (me-khyi—1286 A. D.), and laboured extensively for the welfare of living beings. He lived till he was 37. This sBas-pa sTon-gžon was born in the year Wood-Male-Ape (śiń-pho-spre—1224 A. D.). After him Lha Zur-khań-pa who was born in the year Fire-Female-Ox (me-mo-glań—1277 A. D.) as son of Jo-bar. He became a disciple of Lha Brag-kha-pa and received the upāsaka vow. He was ordained by the upādhyāya Lhag-ru-ba, the Great, sBas-pa sTon-gžon acting as ācārya, and received the name of dBań-phyug ye-śes. From sTon-gžon he heard the "Five Treatises of Maitreya", the Tshig-'Jug (the Prasannapāda, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3860, and the Mādhyamakāvatāra, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3861) and other texts, and mastered them without difficulty. From the upādhāya Lhag-ru-ba he heard the Abhidharmakośa (Tg. mŃon-pa, No. 4089) and preached it to a class of pupils. He became abbot in the year Fire-Female-Hog (me-mo-phag—1287 A. D.). He entrusted

the chair to his successor at the age of 40. In the end, he died at the age of 61 in the year Fire-Ox (me-glaṅ—1337 A. D.). There were left after him many wonderful relics, such as (his) heart, tongue, eye, a conch wound to the right (gyas-'khyil-gyi duṅ) and others. After that Lha (Prince) bLo-gros-'od: he was born in the year Wood-Female-Hen (śiṅ-mo-bya—1285 A. D.) as the eldest son of king (mṅa'-bdag) Grags-pa rin-čhen and Lha-gčig rDo-rJe At the age of 15, he obtained many instructions and initiations from Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (Yar-kluns lo-tsā-ba), the ācārya Kun-dga'-dpal and others. Afterwards he proceeded to sPyil bu (in 'Phan-yul) as indicated by Lha Zur-khaṅ-pa and received from Zur-khaṅ-pa the upāsaka vows. He was ordained (as novice) by the upādhyāya Lhag-ru-ba who acted as upādhyāya, and by sBas-pa sTon-gžon who acted as ācārya At the age of 20, he received the monastic ordination from the same upādhyāya and ācārya. With Zur-khaṅ-pa he studied all the basic texts and instructions. In particular, he heard many oral precepts known and unknown, such as the bLo sbyon Don-bdun-ma and others. He obtained the hidden precepts of the Tantras which had originated from the Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen (Śākyaśrī). With sBas-pa sTon-gžon he studied the Prajñāpāramitā Class and with the upādhyāya gŽon-tshul the Vinaya Class. At the age of 27, in the year Iron-Hog (lčags-phag—1311 A.D.) he was elected to the abbotship of sPyil-bu. Zur-khan-pa handed over to him a precious conch, relics ('phel-gdun), the pātra (monastic bowl) of Śāriputra, the rus-rgyan of Nā-ro, the bell (phyag-dril) of Atīśa, his vajra, and the keys of Po-to and other vihāras. Altogether, he occupied the abbot's chair for 40 years. During this period the trouble between Sa-skya and 'Bri-khuṅ came to an end. sPyil-bu-pas also lived in plenty. He passed away at the age of 66 in the year Iron-Tiger (lčags-stag—1350 A.D.). After the cremation of his remains, many extraordinary relics were recovered. (18b)

After that Lha Rin-čhen seṅ-ge who possessed excellent

faculties, such as the remembrance of his former rebirths, etc., held the abbotship till the year Fire-Female-Ox (me-mo-glaṅ—1337 A.D.). In general, from the year Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre'u—1176 A.D.), which followed the death of Bya 'Čhad-kha-pa, till the year Fire-Female-Ox (me-mo-glaṅ—1337 A.D.) of the death of Lha Zur-khaṅ-pa, 162 years are sure to have elapsed. The sixty years, from the year Earth-Tiger (sa-stag—1338 A.D.) till the year Fire-Ox (me-glaṅ—1397 A. D.), should be considered to be the time of bLo-'gros-'od and Rin-čhen sen-ge. It is (19a)
impossible to ascribe separate dates to them. After that Lha Śākya bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzaṅ-po, bSod-nams lhun-grub and bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan. Further, the Master's 13 years in Tibet, 'Brom—ten years, Po-to-ba—41 years, Śar-ba-pa—36 years, 'Čhad-kha-pa—34 years. From the arrival of the Master in Tibet till the death of 'Čhad-kha-pa—134 years (elapsed). From the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—1338 A.D.) which followed the year of Zur-khaṅ-pa's death, till the present Fire-Male-Ape year (me-pho-spre—1476 A.D.) 139 years have elapsed. One should assign the dates of bLo-gros-'od and others to this period. The chapter from Śar-ba-pa to 'Čhad-kha-pa.

Śar-ba-pa's disciple gTum-ston bLo-gros grags-pa: Śar-ba-pa bequeathed him: "You should befriend a group of four monks!" Accordingly, gTum-ston spent some time at various localities, in the vicinity of this place (sNar-thaṅ) from the year Iron-Female-Hen (lčags-mo-bya—1141 A.D.) till the year Water-Male-Ape (čhu-pho-spre—1152 A.D.). While he was practising meditation, a number of followers gathered round him and in the year Water-Female-Hen year (čhu-mo-bya—1153 A.D.) he founded sNar-thaṅ. He spent there 14 years and later proceeded to sTod (Upper Tibet). He appointed to his chair rDo-ston Śes-rab-grags who occupied the chair (of sNar-thaṅ) for 20 years. After that Žaṅ-bstun rDo-rje-'od for eight years; Gro-ston bDud-rtsi-grags for 39 years; Žaṅ-ston Chos-kyi bla-ma for 10 years, Saṅs-rgyas sgom-pa

sen-ge-skyabs for 10 years; mČhims Nam-mkha'-grags for 36 years, sKyo-ston sMon-lam tshul-khrims for 15 years, Ñi-ma rgyal-mtshan for 7 years; Ze'u brTson-'grus grags-pa for 12 years, his younger brother Grags-pa śes-rab for 12 years; the mahā-upādhyāya bLo-bzan-grags-pa for 40 years; till the last one 223 years had elapsed. After that, in the year Wood-Female-Hare (śin-mo-yos—1375 A.D.) the mahā-upādhyāya Kun-rgyal-ba was elected. During the 43 years, which had passed between this Wood-Hare year and the Fire-Female-Hen (me-mo-bya—1417 A.D.), the chair was looked after by the mahā-upādhyāya Rin-po-čhe Grub-pa-śes-rab. In the year Earth-Male-Dog (sa-pho-khyi—1418 A.D.) the mahā-upādhyāya bSod-nams mčhog-grub was appointed to the chair. He acted as abbot for 16 years, (19b) till the year Water-Female-Ox (čhu-mo-glan—1433 A.D.). In this Ox year, because of a slight disagreement between the Teacher and his attendant, the mahā-upādhyāya moved to dbUs. When he was about to return (to sNar-than), his attendant prevented his coming, and there took place much wrangling and even some casualties between the monks and the mahā-upādhyāya's younger brother. After that sPyan-sna Grags-pa-ba, bKa'-bču-pa bZod-pa-pa, 'Dul-'dzin dPal-ldan bzan-po were elected. The present abbot (of sNar-than) is Śes-rab rgyal-mtshan. From the Master's coming to Tibet till the death of Śar-ba-pa 100 years (elapsed); then 12 years before gTum-ston had founded the monastery of sNar-than. Since the foundation of sNar-than (1153 A.D.) till the time of the mahā-upādhyāya Grub-śe-ba 265 years elapsed (c. 1418 A.D.). In general, from the coming of the Master to Tibet (1041 A.D.) till the present Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre'u—1476 A.D.) 435 years have elapsed. The chapter on sNar-than. (20a)

sGan Śākya Yon-tan of Kham-pa-lun was born in the year Wood-Female-Ox (śin-mo-glan—1023 A.D.). He lived for 91 years till the year Wood-Female-Sheep (śin-mo-lug—1115 A.D.). His teaching was known to contain

eight sections (thun-brgyad-ma). After his death, monks gathered at the residence of sNe'u-zur-pa who had about a 1000 disciples. Among Śar-ba-pa's disciples Ñi-ma 'dul-'dzin was selected (by the Teacher) to preserve the tradition. The yogin Śes-rab rdo-rje was understood to own property. He occupied the chair for three years. The Holy sTabs-ka-ba was selected to preach the basic texts (of the school). He founded the monasteries of sTabs-ka, 'Od-'Jo and Khra-phu. Roṅ-ston Kha-bo-čhe took over 'Od-'Jo. mÑam-med 'Dul-ba 'dzin-pa took over Khra-phu. At Khra-phu the study of the Vinaya and of the Abhidharmakośi continued for a long time. The commentaries on the Vinaya and the Abhidharmakośa composed by Khra-phu-ba 'Od-'byuṅ were later adopted (as text-books) at Khrab-la-kha, as well as at Bra-gor in gÑal. gŽon-nu Yon-tan of 'Od-'Jo was born in the year Fire-Female-Sheep (me-mo-lug—1127 A.D.). He lived for 87 years till the year Water-Female-Hen (čhu-mo-bya—1213 A.D.). He gathered round himself about a 1000 disciples. Dar-ma grags of sTabs-ka was born in the year Water-Female-Sheep (čhu-mo-lug—1103 A.D.) and lived for 72 years, till the year Wood-Male-Horse (śiṅ-pho-rta—1174 A.D.). It is said that he had gathered about 600 disciples at sTabs-ka. The Chapter on Kham-luṅ-pa and the disciples of Śar-ba-pa. (204)

sPyan-sña Tshul-khrims-'bar was born at sNaṅ-ra-sgaṅ of Ñan in the year Earth-Male-Tiger (sa-pho-stag—1038 A.D.), as son of dBas Śākya rdo-rje and mother Li-mo Ye-śes-sgron. In childhood he was called sTag-tshab-'bar. At the age of 20, he came to Rwa-sgreṅ and attended on 'Brom. Later he attended on rNal-'byor-pa, dGon-pa-pa and the yogin Śes-rab rdo-rje. When he had reached the age of 12, a yoginī named Goṅ-mo-sgaṅ-pa of gTsaṅ bestowed on him the secret precepts, but he did not realise the results described in them. Then dGon-pa-pa gave him the book of Pañcakrama by the ācāyra Nāgārjuna (Tg. rGyud, No. 1802) and said: "This (book) led me towards the results (mentioned in the secret pre-

cepts of the yoginī)." He spent six years at Lo. After that he spent three years at sNug-rum. He passed away at the age of 66, on the 21st day of the month of Mṛgaśīra (smal-po) of the year Water-Female-Sheep (čhu-mo-lug—1103 A.D.). From his childhood he believed in the doctrine of śūnyatā and possessed great wisdom, as well as a sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit to enable him to translate (Sanskrit texts). He used to recite mantras, whatever were to be found in Tibet. He erected many caityas made of jewels, similar in style to the Pad-spuns caitya (i.e. in the style of one of the eight famous caityas of India) of the Master. It is said, that if one were to collect in one spot all the votive offerings (sā-tsa) made by him, they would appear like a hill. His powet was great and Religious Protectors used to appear before him without being invoked. He admitted the theory of the Two Truths (aspects), according to which the All was either Conventional (kun-rdsob) or Transcendental (don-dam). Also he maintained that the pure Phenomenal aspect had four characteristics which were quite different from the four characteristics ascribed to it by other (scholars), though later the ācārya gTsan Nag-pa used to say that (such theories) were not mentioned in basic texts. sPyan-sna's view was however proved correct, because to my mind he implied the inner Phenomenal aspect. He exhibited many supernatural powers and people used to say: "Who is greater, the Venerable Mid-la or he in respect of supernatural powers?" He died at sNug-rum. It seems to me that this was due to lack of devotion on the part of the elder (sthavira) of Lo (otherwise he would have passed away at Lo). (20b)
Among his disciples (were found) 'U-yug- pa A-mi, rGya-rtse sBre -ba, sKu-bsruṅs sTon-pa, kLuns-śod Ral-pa, 'Dul-'dzin Sal-gur sTon-pa, 'Tsher-ston, Than-'dul, 'Brom-'dul—the four, Thar-pa'i Phag-sgom, Čhed-čher Bag-ye sgom-pa, Rug-pa'i rGya-sgom and Maṅ-ra sGom-pa—the four, Zar-pa Jo-btsun, gYe-pa'i sgre-pa, 'Phan-yul-pa rGya, Yul-čhos-pa Lha-bzo, sTod-luṅs-pa čhen-po, Khyuṅ Kham-po-čhe, Lho-brag-pa-pa Wa-ston, gTsaṅ-pa Jo-phad, Bya-yul-pa čhen-po

and others. sTod-luṅs-pa čhen-po Rin-čhen sñiṅ-po was born in the year Water-Male-Ape (čhu-pho-spre—1032 A.D.) and lived till the age of 85, till the year Fire-Male-Ape (me-pho-spre—1116 A.D.). He established the monastery of sTod-luṅs btsan-'gro and gathered about a hundred disciples. This Water-Ape year (čhu-spre—1032 A.D.) is the year following after the Iron-Sheep year (lčags-lug—1031 A.D.) in which Po-to-ba was born. When Rin-čhen sñiṅ-po was seven, sPyan-sṅa was born. When he was 11, the Master came to Tibet. It is said that he paid the nivāsana (the elders of dbUs collected a tax from each monk to provide the money for the Master's coming to dbUs) tax for the Master. Zar-pa Phag-sgom founded the monastery of Zar at Mal-gro. Among these disciples, the kalyāna-mitra Bya-yul-pa, the Great, possessed the quality of honouring his Teacher and of labouring extensively for the welfare of others. He was born at Gol-go-luṅ in sTod-luṅs in the year Wood-Female-Hare (śiṅ-mo-yos—1075 A.D.). His father was gYuṅ-'druṅ brTan-'bar and his mother Gyi-lJans-gza' lčam-bu. Soon after that his father died. His mother, having taken the Ratnakūṭa-sūtra (Kg. bKon-brtsegs, No. 45ff.) which was kept in the house, married another husband. The boy was looked after by an aunt (the father's sister). At the age of 11, he was given the name of Se (This passage can also mean that "at the age of 11, he wore the yellow garment."). When he was 12, he took up the noviciate, during which Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan, a disciple of sPyan-sṅa, acted as ācārya, and one known as Byaṅ-grags, a disciple of rNal-'byor-pa, acted as upādhyāya. He was given the name of gŽon-nu-'od. At the age of 12, he became a successful steward (gñer-ba) of Gol-go-luṅ. At the age of 14, when his mother was about to die he proceeded to his home and performed the skyabs-'gro ceremony (Refuge taking rite). His ācārya entrusted him to the great sTod-luṅs-pa and he became the latter's attendant. During that time, he happened to hear the exposition of the Doctrine by another scholar and got it by heart. He studied most of

the basic texts, such as the Śikṣāsamuccaya and others. (21a) Once, when sPyan-sña was residing at Cho-rab, sTod-luṅs-pa came to meet him and he went as his attendant. sPyan-sña had the custom of offering nine maṇḍalas each morning and Bya-yul-pa circumambulated round each maṇḍala, and when sPyan-sña saw it, he became pleased and said to sTod-luṅs-pa: "How happy you must be! Having such an attendant." sTod-luṅs-pa replied: "Shall I give him to you?" sPyan-sña answered "Are you able to give him?" and saying so, he accepted (him). It was said that sPyan-sña and Bya-yul-pa might have settled the matter between themselves in secret. Then sTod-luṅs-pa presented to sPyan-sña his attendant and with him the customary scarf. After the lapse of one year, sPyan-sna having dressed Bya-yul-pa in woolen clothes, sent him to sTod-luṅs-pa. The latter said: "My son had changed his life, without dying!" Bya-yul-pa said: "sPyan-sña never rebuked (me) for anything, but sTod-luns-pa used to rebuke whenever he became displeased, and even when he was very pleased." There is a distinction of views (between the two teachers) as to the need of meditating (on the teacher) as Buddha. He alone had to attend to all the work in the household, and used to prepare barley flour, so that his hands became parched. At night he used to prepare offerings (maṇḍalas), offer prayers and the relics which were in the possession of sPyan-sña increased (in numbers). When the teacher and disciple came to Lo and were building the main shrine and caitya, there was not a single stone or lump of earth which was not touched by him. He himself used to say: "I was unable to please my Teacher with my knowledge and wealth, but as my body had a service to perform, I did this work till my flesh and blood were transformed into blisters." sPyan-sña was extremely pleased with him, so that the old disciples became envious. Po-to-ba also praised him from afar, for his service to sPyan-sña and his courteous attitude towards the other disciples.

sPyan-sña used to say: "O your wisdom! Why did you

not become a monk at sÑe-thaṅ near Lha-sa?" and again: "You who had attained liberation, don't leave me behind!" sTod-luṅs-pa once revisited sPyan-sṅa and inquired "How is your novice?" and sPyan-sṅa replied: "I shall answer you (21b) when he will leave the cell". When he had gone outside, he said: "He is great by nature in both faith and wisdom". sPyan-sṅa used to say: "You should point (your) spear towards Heaven" (meaning you should direct your wisdom towards the Doctrine), and speaking so, he kept him besides himself whenever he used to preach to others. At the monastery of Ñaṅ-pa, be bestowed the initiation on both Maṅ-ra and Bya-yul-pa. When Maṅ-ra was residing at the residence of Phu-čhuṅ-ba, the latter said to him: "At present the Bodhisattva who goes about in the disguise of a śrāvaka, has become ripe (for the higher stage)." When sPyan-sṅa was about to die, Bya-yul-pa asked him. "O kalyāṇa-mitra! In times to come, pray remember me!" and sPyan-sṅa replied. "We shall not part, till we unite in the form of one Spiritual Body (dharmakāya)." Others thought: "He (Bya-yul-pa) only served on sPyan-sṅa and he could not be proficient in the Dectrine." One morning when Bya-yul-pa went outside to throw away ashes and had reached the third step (of the stairs), all of a sudden, the entire meaning of the scriptures became clear to him, Thus he believed in serving the Teacher and used to say: "The kalyāṇa-mitras of sKyi-smad did not strive in the service of the teacher, but only strove towards study. This is their mistake." After the death of sPyan-sṅa, he despatched many presents to Phu-čhuṅ-ba and Po-to-ba who said to him: "Stay here with me! I shall build a house. I shall give you the necessary provisions and a chance to practise meditation." But Bya-yul-pa thought that this might cause displeasure to sTod-luṅs-pa and did not stay. Then Bya-yul-pa resided at Phu-čhuṅ, 'Tshal-čhuṅ and Brul-gyi Ra-ba dkar-po, and was invited to gÑer by Byaṅ-dar-ma Ratna and stayed there. During this period there were two Tantrics, husband and wife, at Bya-yul. They presented

that place to Ža-ba who gave it to gLaṅ-ri Thaṅ-pa. The latter investigated (the place) and having discovered it to be very dangerous did not accept it. When Bya-yul-pa was looking for a site to build a vihāra, Ža-ba again offered it to Bya-yul-pa, and pleased the latter. Bya-yul-pa then performed the ceremony of removing to another locality the local genii (sa-bdag), but there was a powerful and evil Nāga. He (22a) had to subdue him by spreading his mat over him. Then, as the site was covered with boulders, some of them had to be broken up and some to be burried under ground. He performed extensive labours and built a shrine of twelve columns, as well as a court-yard with forty-two pillars. Since he had been an intimate friend of Śar-ba-pa, the latter's disciples were also sent to help in the building of the vihāra. His attendant Śer-sen transported timber from Myan-po and Nags-śod (north of Nag-čhu-ka). After completing the main shrine, Śer-seṅ said: "Now a great (shrine) has been completed and now you must try to fill it (with holy images)," to which Bya-yul-pa replied: "Make sufficient space!" When the upper yard had been completed and the lower yard remained to be finished, a sthavira named Se-čhun-ba poisoned Śer-seṅ, and at his death Bya-yul-pa said to him. "Don't be afraid! I shall be going with you!" He then peformed the "ceremony of the vase" (bum-čhag, a sort of śrāddha rite) and said: "He had now left the region of Hell." After completing well the vihāra, he filled the main shrine with objects of worship, including seventy copies of the 'Bum (Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā) and there was not enough space left for the floor and ceiling decorations. After that he spent his summer retreat at Bya-yul. Later, he made a round of many religious establishments (čhos-gži) in sKyi-smad (lower sKyi/Lha-sa/) and elsewhere, and laboured extensively for the welfare of living beings. While residing in Bya-yul Dags-po, sÑi-sgom asked him: "O kalyāṇa-mitra! Pray tell me how (the understanding) of the two truths (paramārtha-satya and

samvṛti-satya) was born in your mind?" Bya-yul-pa replied: "An enlightened thought in relation to the Phenomenal Aspect (kun-rdzob) and an enlightened thought in relation to the Transcendental Aspect (don-dam) were both produced in my mind". Again sÑi-sgom inquired: "Well! Having examined one's own mind, should one understand it as non-substantial? Or should one, having examined external objects, understand them as non-substantial?" Bya-yul-pa replied: "By a doctrine which is similar to the application of fat to a wound when an arrow piece remains inside, nothing can be reached, by a doctrine which is similar to tracing the footsteps of a thief to a monastery when he had escaped to the forest and mountain, nothing can be gained, so also having declared one's own mind to be non-substantial (by its nature), the fetters of the outside world will fall off by themselves, because all is śūnyatā." sÑi-sgom said again: "When did you realize such a theory?" and Bya-yul-pa replied: "I realized it, when (22b)
attending on sPyan-sṅa" sÑi-sgom inquired: "Do you make a distinction between the samāhita-jñāna (mñam-bžag ye-śes) and pṛṣṭha-labdha-jñāna (rJes-thob ye-śes, or konwledge gained after a meditative trance)?" Bya-yul-pa replied: "I do not distinguish between the samāhita and the pṛṣṭha-labdha. If I were to make a distinction between them, how would I be able to perform my duty and what would become of these followers?" sÑi-sgom again inquired: "Are they not hindering (your) meditation?" and Bya-yul-pa replied: "They are not hindering it!" At first when he was practising meditation, the noise of doors being opened and closed, hindered his mind concentration, but he placed his mat near the door and meditated. Later when he instructed his disciples in the practice of meditation, he used to play music and made them concentrate. Others were of the opinion that he liked music. When sPyan-sṅa was about to die, he said: "Do not take up final monastic ordination", so for a long

time he abstained from taking up final ordination. Later, having offered prayers, he saw a dream in which some one was saying that a caitya should not be rebuilt twice (i.e. the second ordination was not necessary) Again he offered prayers and then saw in his dream that he was given by his Teacher an Indian monastic robe (cīvara). He thought that he was allowed to become a monk and took up ordination, the kalyāna-mitra rṄog Čhos-dbaṅ acting as upādhyāya, Maṅ-ra as ācārya, rGya Śes-rab-'bar as secret preceptor. From gLaṅ-than-pa he heard on one occasion the Vinaya-sūtra and on three occasions from Śes-rab-'bar, in all four times. Others inquired (from him) "When you were listening to the exposition of the Doctrine, did you take down notes, or not?" He replied: "By taking notes nothing can be gained! One should grasp the entire Doctrine suddenly and all at once." Then he said to the inmates of Bya-yul "If your plan was to materialize, then necessities would not be wanting" In the year which preceded his passing away, he said: "You should distribute among monks at the time of the memorial service for sPyan-sna brown sugar, giving each a share which he could lift with his hand. Later there is no certainty that you will be able to do it." By these words he meant that he was soon passing into Nirvāna, but the inmates of Bya-yul did not understand (him). Thus he laboured extensively for the benefit of the Doctrine. At the age of 64, on the 18th day of the Kārtika month (smin-drug) of the year Earth-Male-Horse (sa-pho-rta—1138 A.D.), he assumed the paryaṅka posture and meditated, then he smiled at the ascetic Byan-bla and said: "I shall now lie down in the manner of a lion." A jet of steam rose above the crest of his head, which (23a) became covered with drops of perspiration and he passed into Nirvāṇa. Then the elders (sthaviras) claimed his body and the 2000 monks were deprived of their right (on the body of Bya-yul-pa). Pom-po-pa said: "If you permit the remains of this great Bodhisattva to decompose, then those who perceived (the smell) of decomposition would

go to Hell; therefore it would be better to cremate (the body)."

They thus cremated the body on the roof of the main temple. Many relics were left behind, such as images etc., and each of the disciples got a share of them. Wherever the smoke (from the funeral pyre) reached, there appeared relics. Among the 2000 monks, there were 500 who attained a concentrated trance. Among the 110 learned kalyāṇa-mitras, there were nine "Great Outsiders", eight "Great Middle Ones" (bar) and three "Inner" Spiritual Sons. The nine "Great Outsiders" were: from Khams: Rab-kha-ba, the Great; from Dags-po: Śa-pe gLiṅ-pa, the Great, 'O-thaṅ-pa, the Great, rGya-ri-ba, the Great, from gTsan—'Om-thaṅ-pa, the Great, Mu-sman-phyar, the Great, Ña-ga-mo-ba, the Great, Ta, the Great, rNam-'phar-ba, the Great, also named Ṅaṅ-tshaṅ-pa, the Great. The eight "Great Middle ones" were: dGon, the Great, Čhag-mal-pa, the Great, bKra-śis sgaṅ-pa, the Great, dGyer-sgom, the Great, Khrom-bžer, the Great, Bul-ba-pa, the Great, Baṅ-ra-ba, the Great and Ku-Jol-pa, the Great, who was also called Dum-bu Ri-pa, the Great. The three "Inner Spiritual Sons": gTsan-pa Rin-po-čhe rDo-rJe mi-bskyod, rGya of Ri-mo-čan and sNubs-mčhod-gnas of Phyag-rJe—the three. Further, gÑal-pa Ra-ston, 'Ba'-ril of gTsaṅ, Ke-ru of gTsaṅ, bKra-śis sgaṅ-pa of Lho, Ṅur-pa gYuṅ-śe, Pha-gtsaṅ-pa of Grab, Na-mo-ba of Žogs, Ba-lam-pa bla-ma, La-mo-ba, 'Ba'-le of Upper Myaṅ, Gyor-po Ke-tu, Śāk-gžon of Dol, gYu-luṅ-pa and many others. These (also) took charge of various monasteries and laboured greatly for the benefit of living beings. After that gTsaṅ-pa Rin-po-čhe (23b) became Abbot (of Bya-yul). He was born at sNubs-yul-roṅ of gTsaṅ in the year Fire-Female-Serpent (me-mo-sbrul—1077 A.D.) as son of a great Tantric (sṅags-pa čhen-po), named sNubs A-la la, and his wife, named Ral-rgyags-gza'-lčam-ma, when Bya-yul-pa had reached the age of two. Because of former deeds, when he used to place barley flour into a cup and pour water over it, he used to close his eyes,

as if making a water offering (čhu-gtor) and recollected that when his father removed it, he used to cry. He had a vision of a ḍākinī; filling the entire sky. In particular, he saw a ḍākinī, called 'Bar-ma, attired in a blue garment, of fierce appearance, who handed him a shining sword which he took, and proceeded to Heaven, but was prevented from doing so. He used to say that this was due to a lack of guidance by a teacher. At the age of 12, he understood the nature of visual objects to be illusory, but he did not understand that this was due to former meditations and used to say: "Had I met at that time persons similar to sPyan-sṅa, teacher and disciple, I would have succeeded in this life." To this gLaṅ-luṅ-pa remarked: "There is no need of further development in the progress of your meditation and wisdom. Do you intend to reach the abode of vidyādharas in this very life, as did the ācārya Bhavya?" "Yes, it is so," he answered. About that time, he received initiation from a Tantric, and his notion about the illusory nature (of visual objects) vanished and he thought that these notions must have been harmful and must have been removed through the blessing (received during the initiation). There was not a single Tantra or Sūtra, which he did not study. Among his teachers, to mention only the translators, were: rṄog lo-tsā-ba, gÑan-lo, Ba-ri lo-tsā-ba, Rwa-lo, bTsan-Kha-bo-čhe, five in all. With bTsan Kha-bo-čhe he studied the Sūtrālaṃkāra (Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra-nāma-kārikā, Tg Sems-tsam, No. 4020) and mastered it after listening to it once only. He also read the text on the Mahāmāyā (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 425). He understood the meaning of all the terms, but thought that he was not clear about one śloka. Later he studied with gÑal-byuṅ-ba and his explanation of the other ślokas, agreed with his previous understanding. gÑal-byuṅ-ba used to say that this śloka was missing in the Sanskrit original and thus did not comment on it. He went over the commentary on the first half of the Tattvasaṃgraha (Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā, Tg. (24a)

Tshad-ma, No. 4267) and believed in the profound meaning of the book. For several days he was filled by the notion of a clear sky, without having previously meditated on it. From the sky (he heard a voice, saying): "One could perceive all the elements of existence through the understanding of the light of transcendental nature (dharmatā)." At that time he suffered from pain in the upper part of his body and saw in a vision a white man, wearing a knot of hair, pouring nectar from a jar (over him), so that his entire body was filled by it and the pain left him. Then he thought that he should go to India and there meet one or two panditas, in order to compare (their doctrines) with those of Tibet, and see whether one could improve on them. So he went, and at Diṅ-ri he met Dam-pa (Sans-rgyas) who was getting up (after spending many days 'resting) and people used to say: "This man is very fortunate!" The kalyāna-mitra possessed a piece of black cloth which Dam-pa placed on his head. Dam-pa gave him a tsakkali (<cakkala, a circular miniature, now-a-days often pronounced tsak-li) of Mahābodhi. Then he made him pick up a khur-mans flower (dandelion) and throw it into water, and then made him throw a stone towards the East. At this a group of persons remarked: "This is good for the man! The placing of cloth on your head indicates that you will be honoured by both gods and men. The giving you of a tsakkali of Mahābodhi means that you will become a Master of the Doctrine. The throwing of the flower into water, means that you will not be attached to wordly pleasures. The throwing of the stone towards the East, means that should you go towards the East, you would meet a good teacher. Such were the meanings of these signs." Later, when he was residing at Lo, he used to say: "They seem to have been true". Then on being told that there was a great famine in Nepāl, he turned back and proceeded to sKyi-śod (Lha-sa). Though scholars used to speak disparagingly about the bKa'-gdams-pas, he thought that these bKa'-gdams-pas must also possess a complete

Doctrine of their own. He was surrounded by kalyāṇa-mitras, such as Lan-pa sTon-śāk and others, and used to hold philosophical debates, but none were able to defeat him, and he became known as "One possessed of a hot Doctrine" (a fierce debater). One of his uncles promised him to provide him with the necessary provisions and he thought: "Since he will give me (provisions), I shall practise meditation at Yer-pa and Chu-bo-ri." About that time, (24b)
Bya-yul-pa was residing at 'Brom, and people used to say "He is a man blessed by the teacher, but does not understand anything about the Doctrine", but he (gTsan-pa) thought that the two statements that he was blessed by the teacher, and that he did not know anything about the Doctrine, were in contradiction to each other. For "according to the Mahāyāna Tantras one was to accept the blessing of one's own teacher, as one's own Path. (This Bya-yul-pa) must be wonderful!" and further he thought: "I shall visit him! I shall penetrate his doctrines in one or two months", so he went to him, and presented him with a good black horse and one sraṅ of gold. On the mere glance at (Bya-yul-pa's) face, faith was born in him and he shed tears. He attended a class and discovered that (Bya-yul-pa's) teaching was in contradiction to a notion present in his mind. Though he was able to memorize the words, there was need of inquiry into the thoughts of the teacher. He thought: "This kalyāṇa-mitra possesses an increasing fortune. Will he be able to inquire into it?", and thus his mind became confused by this thought. One day, having gone into the presence of the kalyāṇa-mitra he put him a question and the teacher replied: "Did you ston-pa (scholar) meditate on it before?"—"I did not meditate specially," he replied. The teacher then said: "Judging by this question of yours, you must have meditated (on it)." Then after he had meditated for about half a month, there appeared in him the previous notion about the illusory nature (of external objects) and he thought: "While this notion seems to be correct, the former

teachers not only did not develop it, but even destroyed it". Then he went to Bya-yul as an attendant. When Bya-yul-pa came to the house where he was residing, to convey him secret precepts, he said: "At Rwa-sgreṅ, the 'former' and 'latter' (goṅ-'og) rNal-'byor-pas have brought the Doctrine to sPyan-sṅa in a similar manner. I also have come to convey the Doctrine (to you)"—"Well; you are very kind to me!" He asked for a sufficient quantity of tea and brown sugar and got as much as he desired. Then he requested that he might be initiated. By-yul-pa said: "I shall give it to both rGya-ston and yourself!" and bestowed on him the initiation (abhiṣeka). rGya-ston had a vision of Acala (25a)
(Mi-gyo-ba). gTsaṅ-pa Rin-po-čhe understood completely all the words of the four classes of the Tantras, so there can not be any doubt as to his understanding of their meaning. Further, he had visions of many tutelary deities. Especially the truth of the Ultimate Essence (Dharmatā) was manifested to him. When his fortune increased in Dags-po and gYal, he offered as presents to his Teacher more than a hundred volumes of religious texts and one measure ('bre) of gold sand. It is said that an eight years old girl could not lift (the bag with the gold sand). He was given a large quantity of meat, butter, clothes, etc. Since he did not think about himself and during the first half of the winter had presented all (his possessions) to his Teacher, in the second half of the winter his provisions came to an end. Each time he listened to the preaching, he used to present to his Teacher at least half a žo of gold. Then the inmates of Lo invited him and he became Abbot of Lo. Later when Bya-yul-pa was about to die, he sent a messenger, but the latter did not convey his message, and thus they did not contact each other at the time of death. After the death of Bya-yul-pa, he took over both Lo and Bya-yul. Perceiving that an accident to his life was imminent, he performed the rite of cintāmaṇi (to the White Tārā), and thus prolonged (his) life. He

passed away at the age of 85, in the year Iron-Female-Serpent (lčags-mo-sbrul—1161 A.D.). As his name was Nam-mkha' rdo-rje (Diamond of Heaven), there exists a Praise (stotra) in his honour in which it is said: "We salute the Precious One who possesses a Diamond Mind, undifferentiated from the intuitive knowledge of a Saint, similar to Heaven, who is endowed with an undifferentiated intuitive knowledge (samāhita-jñāna) and knowledge acquired after meditation (pṛṣṭha-labdha-jñāna)." His disciples: it is said that gTsaṅ-pa had four sons and other disciples, in all 14. His successor the Abbot Rin-po-čhe gLaṅ-luṅ-pa. he was born as the eldest of the three sons of sNubs rDo-rje btsan-grags and Hor-gza'-mo in the year Water-Female-Hare (čhu-mo-yos—1123 A.D.) at sGaṅ-ra of sTod-luṅs-'tshur. bLa-ma Žaṅ was also born in the same year. In his childhood (gLaṅ-luṅ-pa) felt disgust towards life, and believed in the Doctrine of retribution (las-'bras) and was anxious to free himself from (the bounds) of Phenomenal Existence, as well as possessed of a self-born great commiseration towards living beings. At the age of 18, he went to see Ñag-mo-ba, a disciple of Bya-yul-pa, and took up the vows of an upāsaka (Go-mi'i sdom-pa—"vows of Go-mi", abstaining from sexual life. Some says that the term means the "vows taken by /Candra/gomin."). A great devotion was born in him. He then returned to his native place to (25b)
collect requisites for his ordination. He thought that he ought to be ordained by sPa-tshab lo-tsā-ba, acting as upādhyāya, and by Čhos-kyi padma, a disciple of sNe'u-zur-pa, acting as ācārya. Then from the opposite bank of the river, a man called out to him: "If you are to take up the noviciate, make haste, for sPa-tshab lo-tsā-ba was to visit Pha-boṅ-kha of Yel-pa." So he proceeded there. He also invited Čhos-kyi pad-ma. He took up the noviciate and was given the name of brTson-'grus gžon-nu. He listened to the (exposition) of the Vinaya by an assistant preacher (žar-čhos-pa) of Ñag-mo-ba, but was unable to understand it.

Later, he heard it being explained by others and understood it without difficulty. He spent seven years with Ñag-mo-ba and studied the Lam-rim (the Byaṅ-čhub Lam-rim of Atīśa or the Bodhipathapradīpa). The kalyāṇa-mitra (Ñag-mo-ba) passed away, before he had finished his studies.

Later, he again met him in his dream and Ñag-mo-ba said to him: "I shall take you to Sukhāvatī!" He woke up on the way to heaven. At the age of 25, he received the final monastic ordination at Gyaṅ-pa of Mar-snon, Bya-'dul acting as upādhyāya, Phyā-ba acting as ācārya and the scholar Chos-mčhog as Secret Preceptor (gsaṅ-ston). For eight years he attended on the kalyāṇa-mitra bKra-śis sgaṅ-pa, a disciple of both Ñag-mo-ba and Bya-yul-pa. In his dream he asked for his blessing and the latter gave him some raw meat. He ate it, and thereupon his mind was suddenly plunged into the mystic trance in which one perceives the non-substantiality (of elements; raṅ-bžin med-pa). Again in his dream he saw himself lifting a curtain and finding himself in the presence (of his Teacher). Before the Teacher stood a vase, and on his request, the Teacher initiated him and again his Mind was plunged into the trance of non-substantiality. On one occasion he read through the large commentary on the rTsa-ltuṅ (rTsa-ba'i ltuṅ-ba'i rgya-čher 'grel-pa, Tg. rGyud, No. 2487), and by the power of his faith (in that book), he saw for six days his own body as a cakra-maṇḍala (according to the rTsa-ltuṅ, a Tantric who weakened in his belief that his physical body was the maṇḍala of his tutelary deity, transgressed the eighth of the fourteen vows (See Advayavajra-saṃgraha, ed. by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastrī, Gaekwad's Oriental Series. No, XL, Baroda, 1927, p. 13). He also read through the Mādhyamakāvatāra, composed by the ācārya Candrakīrti. He perceived all visual objects to be similar to rainbows. Again during five or six days this vision of all internal (26a) and external objects vanished amidst his daily work, and then became similar to the Sky. Again, at a later date,

the Teacher (gLaṅ-luṅ-pa) saw his own body transformed into the letter "Ka". On one occasion he practised meditation according to the method of Atīśa. He inquired from the scholar brTson-'grus seṅ-ge, a disciple of sNe'u-zur-pa, whether this practice could serve as a Path, or not? About midnight brTson-'grus seṅ-ge said: "I heard a voice saying 'the cause of gLaṅ-gliṅ produces the seed of gLaṅ-gliṅ. Fire and Wind are pleasant.' Now say, whether this indicates (your) meditation according to the method of Atīśa?" He did not say "Yes", but said to himself that the dream must be true. According to this account it seems true that the upāya-mārga of the Master was handed down in the Lineage of sPyan-sña, but according to some of the most famous followers of the bKa'-gdams-pa (sect) there did not exist an account about the existence of precepts on the upāya-mārga taught by the Master. Such things happened during the time of (his) attending on gTsaṅ-pa. He also heard that 'Od-'Jo had performed before that the rite of the Mental Creative Effort during an assembly. Then he proceeded to attend the cittotpāda rite at Lo, and on his way back met gTsaṅ-pa Rin-po-čhe. On the mere seeing of the latter's face, an extraordinary faith and devotion were born in him. Once again he went to meet him from bKra-śis-sgaṅ. gTsaṅ-pa said. "An accident may befall you! Remain within the precincts of your monastery!" He thus spent two months within the precincts of his monastery in his cell. After that he again went into the presence of gTsaṅ-pa, and related to him his many doubts about the Mādhyamika and his doubts were removed. Once a stranger asked gTsaṅ-pa: "What sort (of man) is this sTod-luṅs-pa?" and gTsaṅ-pa replied: "He is one who will be able to penetrate the Two Truths." He was firmly established (in the doctrine) of the Two Truths. For five years he attended on gTsaṅ-pa and after the latter's death, acted as abbot for 32 years. He passed away at the age of 71 in the year Water-Female-Ox (čhu-mo-glaṅ—1193 A.D.). dbU-se and bla-ma Žaṅ died

numerous disciples, 'Od-gsal-ba, the Great, founded the monastery of 'Od-gsal in Upper Žogs. Ri-mer-ba, the Great, founded the monastery of Ri-mer in Eastern Lho-brag. After that the kalyāṇa-mitra mKham-pa luṅ-pa, whose native place was Ka-ka of Ñan. He was born in the year Water-Dragon (čhu-'brug—1232 A.D.) to sBas rNal-'byor mgon-po and mother Žaṅ-lčam dKar-yal. At the age of 12, he was ordained by the upādhyāya gŽuṅ-pa and the ācārya Rag-ma-ba. At the age of 19, he was fully ordained by the upādhyāya Žig-po of sKyor-mo-luṅ, the ācārya dPal and the secret preceptor dbOn-dbaṅ. He studied the Vinaya, and obtained instruction from Rin-po-čhe (gLaṅ-luṅ-pa), and practised meditation, during which he obtained the desired results. On repeated occasions he reported to (his Teacher) his understanding (of the Doctrine). He is known to have had no door (closed) for those who wanted to ask (him) about the Doctrine, neither at mid-day, nor at mid-night. At the age of 25, in the year Fire-Male-Dragon (me-pho-'brug—1256 A.D.), Zem died, and in the same year he occupied the chair. From this Fire-Dragon year till the Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1282 A.D.), for 27 years, he acted as abbot. He passed away in the year Water-Horse (čhu-rta—1282 A.D.). He is known to have attained the Mahāmudrā siddhi (Buddhahood) in the Intermediate Stage (antara-bhava, bar-do). (27b)

Saṅs-rgyas Jo-bo: his name was dBaṅ-phyug gžon-nu. He proclaimed himself to be an incarnation of Saṅs-rgyas sgom-pa. He was born in the year Water-Dragon (čhu-'brug—1232 A.D.). mKham-pa luṅ-pa was also born in the same year. At the age of 22, he took up the noviciate in the presence of an upādhyāya, a monk of sKyor-mo-luṅ and the ācārya Thaṅ-pa-pa at gLaṅ-luṅ. At 25, he took up the final ordination (upasampadā). At 51, he became abbot of bTsan-gro. He came to Bya-yul in the year Iron-Hare (lčags-yos—1291 A.D.) at the age of 60. He passed away at the age of 81, in the year Water-Male-Mouse (čhu-

pho-byi-ba—1312 A.D.). When he was repairing the vihāra of Bya-yul, after having obtained the power of a Religious Protector, he buried inside the wall of the temple four images of dharmapālas together with their offerings (gtor-ma). The 'Bri-khuṅ-pa, uncle (sku-žaṅ) Tshul-rgyal then led an armed force against Lo and killed nine monks. The inmates of Lo, basing themselves on the legend that a gtor-ma offering had been hidden (in the wall of the temple), searched for it, and having discovered it, cast it, and killed the uncle and his disciples. It is said that when they were extracting the gtor-ma offering they found it had not dried up and remained fresh. After mKham-luṅ-pa, gTsaṅ-ston acted as abbot during the three years, the Water-Sheep (čhu-lug—1283 A.D.), the Wood-Ape (śiṅ-spre—1284 A.D.) and the Wood-Hen (śiṅ-bya—1285 A.D.). gTsaṅ-ston was murdered by the 'Bri-khuṅ-pas. (The monastery) of Bya-yul was burnt down, and from the year Fire-Dog (me-khyi—1286 A.D.) till the year Iron-Tiger (lčags-stag—1290 A.D.) the chair seems to have remained empty. In this Iron-Tiger (lčags-stag—1290 A.D.) the rebellion of 'Bri-khuṅ took place. The next Iron-Hare year (lčags-yos—1291 A.D.) is the year of the coming of Saṅs-rgyas Jo-bo to the abbot's chair (of Bya-yul). The Emperor (28a)
Se-čhen (Qubilai, Secen-qan) presented many measures of gold to Saṅs-rgyas Jo-bo to cover the expenses of rebuilding (of Bya-yul). Within one year they had rebuilt the vihāra of Bya-yul. When he was going to rebuilt Bya-yul, and was fording the sKyi-čhu, the boatman thought to himself: "This old man has become decrepit. Will he be able to rebuild the monastery?" (Saṅs-rgyas Jo-bo) having perceived his thoughts, told him: "Uncle boatman! Next year about this time, I shall be placing greyish flags on the roof" (meaning that the rebuilding will be completed). The Precious Saṅs-rgyas sTon-pa: His native place was Gru-śul-sgo. He was the eldest of the four sons of bKra-śis-'bum and Sri-thar-skyid. About the age of 14, he met mKham-

luṅ-pa. He died in the year Wood-Female-Ox (śiṅ-mo-glaṅ—1325 A.D.). This Wood-Ox year (śiṅ-glaṅ—1325 A.D.) is the 43rd year, if counted from the Water-Sheep (čhu-lug—1283 A.D.) year which followed on the Water-Male-Horse year (čhu-pho-rta—1282 A.D.), the year of the death of mKham-luṅ-pa. This Wood-Ox year (śiṅ-glaṅ—1325 A.D.) is the 36th year of Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe. Saṅs-rgyas sgom-pa, "the second": he was a native of Lo-ro and was born in the year Wood-Male-Ape (śiṅ-pho-spre—1284 A.D.). He took up the noviciate in the presence of Zaṅs-po čhe-ba and mTsho-sna-ba, and received the name of Tshul-khrims śes-rab. He studied much the Vinaya and other texts. He came to Bya-yul to (interview) Saṅs-rgyas Jo-bo and there obtained final monastic ordination. He obtained from Saṅs-rgyas sTon-pa the complete religious system (čhos-skor) of Bya-yul-pa. At that time the precepts of Vajrayāna were not extant, because of the extinction of the teaching after mKham-pa luṅ-pa. At Mon Lug-mgo-steṅs he obtained the teaching (of the Vajrayāna) from sGom-pa Byaṅ-skyabs, a disciple of Zem Riṅ-mo-ba, who was residing there. At the age of 43, in the year Fire-Male-Tiger (me-pho-stag—1326 A.D.) he became abbot of Bya-yul. Great were his labours. He passed away at the age of 55 in the year Earth-Tiger (sa-stag—1338 A.D.). After that one known as Saṅs-rgyas dbon-po of rGyal-steṅs occupied the chair (of Bya-yul) for 18 months. After him Tshul-khrims mgon-po of bTsan-gro. His native place was Ka-ba-sa. He was ordained by Saṅs-rgyas Jo-bo and received instructions from Saṅs-rgyas ston-pa. He acted as abbot (of Bya-yul) from the year (28b)
Iron-Serpent (lčags-sbrul—1341 A.D.) till the year water-Female-Hare (čhu-mo-yos—1363 A.D.). Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe died in the year Wood-Dragon (śiṅ-sbrug—1364 A.D.) which is the following year after this Water-Hare year (čhu-yos—1363 A.D.). After him sPyan-sṅa bLo-gros rNam-dag-pa. After him sPyan-sṅa Chos-kyi rdo-rje of rGyal-steṅs. From

the year Wood-Horse (čhu-rta—1042 A.D.), during which the Master came to Tibet, till the death of sPyan-sṅa in the year Water-sheep (čhu-lug—1103 A.D.) sixty-two years have passed. After that till the death of Tshul-khrims mgon-po in the year Water-Hare (čhu-yos—1363 A.D.) 259 years elapsed. After that, from the year Wood-Dragon (śiṅ-'brug—1364 A.D.) till the present Fire-Male-Ape year (me-pho-spre—1476 A.D.) 114 years should be considered as having passed. The chapter on the abbots (of Bya-yul) from sPyan-sṅa to Bya-yul-pa.

Gul-pi-pa, the Great, founded (the monastery) of rGyal-po-steṅs at Mal-gro (dbUs). The great Dum-bu-ri-ba of sMad founded Dum-bu-ri. He was known as the Bodhisattva Zla-rgyal of sMad. Śab-pa gliṅ-pa, the Great, built the monastery of Śab-pa-gliṅ at Dags-po. Khrom-bžer, the Great, established the vihāra of Kam-kam. Khrom-bžer Rin-čhen Seṅ-ge was born in the year Iron-Male-Dragon (lčags-pho-'brug—1100 A.D.) in a Tantric family at 'Čhims. He lived as a lay Tantric. This Iron-Dragon year is the 26th year of Bya-yul-pa. He attended on dbYig-thaṅ ston-pa, who resided at mDo-luṅ, and was a disciple of sNam Jo-dpal and Lha-btsun Byaṅ-čhub-'od. He also attended on Kam-pa, Śar-ba-pa and Bya-yul-pa. At the age of 38, in the year Fire-Female-Serpent (me-mo-sbrul—1137 A.D.) he built the monastery of Kam-kam, and about 208 monks gathered in this monastery. When he was 39, in the year Earth-Male-Horse (sa-pho-rta—1138 A.D.), Bya-yul-pa passed away and rGya-ma dbOn-ston was born. He (Khrom-bžer) died at the age of 71 in the year Iron-Tiger (lčags-stag—1170 A.D.). In the same year dPal Phag-mo gru-pa also died. dGyer-sgom, the Great, gTum-ston of sNar-thaṅ, sPa-tshab lo-tsā-ba and sTabs-ka čhen-po were his contemporaries. His successor the Abbot sKyo-ston Rin-po-čhe Byaṅ-čhub zin-čhen was born at sKyo-groṅ in Lower Grog in the year Fire-Male-Horse (me-pho-rta—1126 A.D.), when Khrom-bžer was 27. At the age of 13, he met

Khrom-bžer. At 21, he received the noviciate and the final (294)
monastic ordination in the presence of Bya-'dul (Bya-'Dul-ba 'dzin-pa). He attended on sÑug-rum-pa, 'Od-'Jo-ba and sNubs mČhod-gnas of Bya-yul. At 46, in the year Iron-Female-Hare (lčags-mo-yos—1171 A.D.) he became Abbot of Kam-kam. The number of priests (btsun-pa—an unmarried priest), increased to about 500 and the greater part consisted of bandes. At the same time he became also Abbot of rGyal Lha-khaṅ (in 'Phan-yul). At 18, in the year Water-Hog (čhu-phag—1143 A.D.) 'Jig-rten mgon-po was born. When he was 22, in the year Fire-Female-Hare (me-mo-yos—1147 A.D.) the Sa-skya-pa rJe-btsun Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan was born. When he was 57, in the year Water-Tiger (čhu-stag—1182 A.D.), Sa-paṇ (Sa-skya paṇ-čhen) was born. He died at the age of 75, in the year Iron-Ape (lčags-spre—1200 A.D.). This is the year of the birth of Mal Ka-ba-čan. His successor as abbot (of Kam-kam) was Khrom-bžer Jo-sras Rin-čhen seṅ-ge who was born at 'Čhims in the year Water-Female-Sheep (čhu-mo-lug—1163 A.D.), when sKyo-ston was 38. He took up ordination at 14 in the presence of sKyo. At 19, he received the final monastic ordination in the presence of Ka-ba Dar-seṅ, dPal-čhen rDor-gžon and gLan Tshul-byaṅ. At 38, he occupied the chair (of Kam-kam) and also became abbot of sPaṅs-thaṅ-stod. When he was 10, in the year Water-Dragon (čhu-'brug—1172 A.D), the Khro-phu lo-tsā-ba was born. When he was 46, the mahā-paṇḍita Śāk-śrī (Śākyaśrībhadra or Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen) visited Upper dbUs, Rwa-sgreṅ and other monasteries. He passed away at the age of 58 in the year Iron-Dragon (lčags-'brug—1220 A.D.). His successor Žig-po Rin-čhen 'byuṅ-gnas of 'Dul-gra was born in the year Fire-Sheep (me-lug—1187 A.D.), when Jo-sras was 25. At 13, he took up ordination in the presence of Jo-sras. When he was 22, he received final monastic ordination from the yogin Byaṅ-seṅ at Gro-sa. He attended on 'Be Saṅs-rgyas sgom-pa, rDo-rje gžon-nu

and Tre-bo mgon-po. At 34, in the year Iron-Dragon (lčags-'brug—1220 A.D.) he became abbot. When he was 29, in the year Wood-Female-Hog (śiṅ-mo-phag—1215 A.D.) the emperor Se-čhen (Secen, Qubilai, 1215 A.D.) was born. When he was 49, in the year Wood-Sheep (śiṅ-lug—1235 A.D.) the Dharmarāja 'Phags-pa was born ('phags-pa, or ārya is the Tibetan translation of the Mongol qutoγtu). He was a contemporary of Saṅs-rgyas Yar-byon of sTag-luṅ, Lha-čhen-po of sPyil-bu, Zem Tshe-riṅ-mo-ba, rGya-spaṅs-pa of Se sPyil-bu, Lha dGe-'dun sgaṅ-pa, Gan-pa Da re, and rGya-ma-pa Saṅ-yon. He died at the age of 68 in the year Wood-Male-Tiger (śiṅ-pho-stag—1254 A.D.). (29b) His successor bSod-nams rin-čhen was born in the year Wood-Male-Dog (the text has byi or mouse, but this is evidently a mistake for Khyi, or dog, śiṅ-pho-khyi—1214 A.D.), when 'Dul-Gra-pa had reached the age of 28. At 19, he received the noviciate and the upasampadā ordination in the presence of the yogin Byaṅ-seṅ. He attended on 'Dul Gra-pa and Zem Tshe-rin-mo-ba. At 41, he became abbot in the year Wood-Male-Tiger (śiṅ-pho-stag—1254 A.D.). When he was 11, in the year Wood-Ape (śin-spre—1224 A.D.) sBas-pa sTon-gžon of sPyil-bu was born. When he was 19, in the year Water-Male-Dragon (čhu-pho-'brug—1232 A.D.), Lha-čhen-po of sPyil-bu died. When he was 38, in the year Iron-Hog (lčags-phag—1251 A.D.) Sa-skya paṇ-čhen died. When he was 67, in the year Iron-Dragon (lčags-'brug—1280 A.D.) the Dharmarāja 'Phags-pa passed away. Man-luṅs Guru, Yaṅ-dgon-pa, Roṅ-pa rGa'-lo, Lha 'Gro-mgon of sPyil-bu, Saṅs-rgyas gtsaṅ-ston of Bya-yul and 'Od-zer mgon-po of gSaṅ-phu were his contemporaries. He died at the age of 73 in the year Fire-Male-Dog (me-pho-khyi—1286 A.D.). His successor Khrom-bžer dbOn-po Roṅ-gžon was born in the year Wood-Female-Hare (śiṅ-mo-yos—1255 A.D.). At the age of 14, he took up ordination at Kam-kam. At 22, he received the final monastic ordination at Gro-sa. He attended

on the ācārya bSod-nams rin čhen and Saṅs-rgyas Jo-bo of Bya-yul. At 32 in the year Fire-Male-Dog (me-pho-khyi—1286 A.D.) he became abbot. In his fifth year as abbot in the year Iron-Female-Tiger (lčags-pho-stag—1290 A.D.) the rebellion of 'Bri-khuṅ took place. (In the same year) Bu-ston Kha-čhe was born, and (the monastery) of Bya-yul was damaged by fire. When he was 30, in the year Wood-Ape (śiṅ-spre—1284 A.D.), the Dharmasvāmin Raṅ-byuṅ rdo-rje was born. The 28th Rector (sPyan-sṅa) of 'Bri-khuṅ-pa was also born. When he was 45, in the year Earth-Female-Hog (sa-mo-phag—1299 A.D.) Ti-śrī (chin. Ti-shih) Kun-dga' blo-gros was born. He died at the age of 73, in the year Fire-Female-Hare (me-mo yos—1327 A.D.). His nephew, the Abbot Khrom-bžer Rin-čhen seṅ-ge was born in the year Wood-Female-Serpent (śiṅ-mo-sbrul—1305 A.D.). At the age of 12, he was ordained by the mahā-upādhyāya Seṅ-ge-dpal and the ācārya Rin-gžon-pa. At 20, he received the final monastic ordination (upasampadā) at Gro-sa. He attended on the ācārya Rin-gžon and Saṅs-rgyas ston-pa of Bya-yul, and (30a) studied. At 24, in the year Earth-Male-Dragon (sa-pho-'brug—1328 A.D.), he became abbot. When he was six, in the year Iron-Dog (lčags-khyi—1310 A.D.), Ti-śrī (Ti-shih) Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan was born. rGya-ma-ba bKra-śis-rgyal, Bya-yul-pa Saṅs-rgyas sgom-pa, the Second, 'Čhad-khaṅ Lha bLo-gros-'od, the ācārya bLo-gros seṅ-ge of gSaṅ-phu, bKra-śis seṅ-ge of bDe-ba-čan and the ācārya bLo-bzaṅ of Chos-'khor-gliṅ have been his contemporaries. When he was 59, he appointed his nephew to the abbot's chair in the year Water-Female-Hare (čhu-mo-yos—1363 A.D.) and himself retired. He died at the age of 61 in the year Wood-Female-Serpent (śiṅ-mo-sbrul—1365 A.D.). His nephew, the abbot Saṅs-rgyas 'od-zer was born in the year Fire-Male-Dog (me-pho-khyi—1346 A.D.). At 11, he was ordained by the former mahā-upādhyāya. He received the final monastic ordination from the mahā-upādhyāya 'Od-zer rgyal-po at Gro-sa. He attended on the ācārya Byams-pa of Chos-

'khor-glin and on sPyan-sna Rin-san-ba and others. At 18, in the year Water-Female-Hare (čhu-mo-yos—1363 A.D.), he became abbot. He died at the age of 24 in the year Earth-Female-Hen (sa-mo-bya—1369 A.D.). 39 years have passed since his death till the election of a new abbot. The mahā-upādhyāya brTson-'grus bzan-po was born in kLuns-śod zur-re in the year Water-Female-Ox (čhu-mo-glan—1313 A.D.). At the age of 10, he met 'Jam-dyans Rin-čhen sen-ge and requested him to become his upādhyāya. He also requested the mahā-upādhyāya brTson-Rin-pa to act as ācārya, and thus received ordination. At 27, he received the final monastic ordination in the presence of his former upādhyāya and ācārya. At Chos-'khor-glin he attended on the ācārya Śes-rab rgyal-mtshan and the ācārya bLo-bzan. Further, he attended on the mahā-upādhyāya bKras-Rin-pa (bKra-śis rin-čhen), the Dharmasvāmin bla-ma Dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan, the mahā-upādhyāya Čhos-dban (Čhos-kyi dban-phyug), sPyan-sna Rin-sen-pa (Rin-čhen sen-ge), the upādhyāya of the Bya-yul-pas-Rin-tshul (Rin-čhen Tshul-khrims), the ācārya gŽon-brtson (gŽon-nu brtson-'grus), the ācārya Rin-grub (Rin čhen-grub) and the upādhyāya brTson-rgyal (brTson-'grus rgyal-mtshan). At 37, in the year Earth-Female-Ox (sa-mo-glan—1349 A.D.), he became abbot When he was 27, the sKar-ma-pa Ran-byun rdo-rje died. When he was 39, in the year Iron-Hare (lčags-yos—1351 A.D.), the 28th sPyan-sna (Rector) of 'Bri-khun died. When he was 49, in the year Iron-Ox (lčags-glan—1361 A.D.), the All-knowing (Kun-mkhyen) Jo-nan-pa died. In the following Water-Hare (čhu-yos—1363 A.D.) the rDzogs-čhen-pa Tshul-blo (Tshul-khrims blo-gros) died.[1] In the next Wood-Dragon year (śin-'brug—1364 A.D.) Bu-ston (30b)

1 kLon-čhen-pa, the great rÑin-ma-pa scholar He was Abbot of Gans-ri Thod-dkar, near bSam-yas, and author of a voluminous "Collection of Works" or gSun-'bum, several editions of which exist in Tibet. Especially famous are his kLon-čhen mDzod-bdun or the "Seven Treasures of kLon-čhen," with auto-commentaries (ran-'grel).

passed away. In the next Fire-Horse year (me-rta—1366 A.D.) rTogs-ldan bSam-gtan-dpal died. In the next Earth-Ape year (sa-spre—1368 A.D.), the Mongol (Hor) dynasty came to an end. In the next Earth-Female-Hen year (sa-mo-bya—1369 A.D.) rGyal-sras Thogs-med-pa died. When he was 63, in the year Wood-Female-Hare (śiṅ-mo-yos—1375 A.D.) Čhos-rJe bLa-ma died. In the next Earth-Male-Horse year (sa-pho-rta—1378 A.D.) gYag-sde paṇ-čhen died at the age of 80. When he was 72, in the year Wood-Male-Mouse (śiṅ-pho-byi—1384 A. D.) the Dharmasvāmin De-bžin gśegs-pa (Tathāgata) was born. brTson-'grus bzaṅ-po died at the age of 73 in the year Wood-Female-Ox (śiṅ-mo-glaṅ—1385 A.D.). The chair remained empty during the Fire-Tiger year (me-stag—1386 A.D.). The (present) Abbot Don-grub-dpal was born in the year Wood-Female-Serpent (śiṅ-mo-sbrul—1365 A.D.) at kLu-goṅ of 'Phan-yul. At the age of 9, he studied grammar and became known as a wise child. At 13, he was ordained by the mahā-upādhyāya and for eight years attended on him without interruption. At 22, he took up the final monastic ordination in the presence of the mahā-upādhyāya Śākyamitra and others. Further, he attended on bLo-gros brtan-pa of gSaṅ-phu, mKhas-grub rDo-rJe rgyal-mtshan, rDo-rJe 'dzin-pa gŽon-nu rgyal-mtshan, the yogeśvara gŽon-nu-'phel, Bya-yul Rin-po-čhe bLo-gros rnam dag, the mahā-upādhyāya Seṅ-rgyal-ba (Seṅ-ge rgyal-mtshan), the ascetic mGon-po ye-śes, sTag-luṅ lo-tsā-ba Śākya-bzaṅ-po, the ascetic of Thaṅ-sag gŽon-nu rgyal-mtshan, the ascetic (kun-spaṅs) Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan, mKhas-btsun gŽon-nu-'od and the sTan-gčig-pa (Aikāsanika) Luṅ-gyi rgya-mtsho. He became Abbot at the age of 23 in the year Fire-Female-Hare (me-mo-yos—1387 A.D.). In the year Fire-Female-Hen (me-mo-bya—1417 A.D.) at the age of 31, he composed the Čhos-byuṅ bstan-pa rin-po-čhe'i gsal-byed (See Re'u-mig, JASB, 1889, No.2, p.64). From that Fire-Female-Hen year (me-mo-bya—1417 A.D.) to the present Fire-Male-Ape year

(me-pho-spre—1476 A.D.) sixty years have passed. Since the death of Khrom-gžer, the Great, to the present Fire-Ape year (me-spre—1476 A.D.) 307 years have passed. The Chapter on the disciples Bya-yul-pa (31a).

Kam-pa Śes-rab-'od, one of the four sons of dGon-pa-pa: When the Master (Atīśa) was visiting Lan-pa sPyil-bu, his mother asked to be blessed by the Master, who said to her: "This one will have a virtuous son!" According to this (31a)
prophecy, (a boy) was born to her at Lower Lan-pa in the year Fire-Female-Hen (me-mo-bya—1057 A.D.). On being ordained, he received the name of Śes-rab-'od. Later, he went to interview dGon-pa-pa who helped him with spiritual and material means. He possessed an immeasurable faculty of intuitive knowledge and a very great wisdom. In the Tarkājvāla (dbU-ma'i sñin-po'i 'grel-pa rTog-ge-'bar-ba, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3856), translated by Nag-tsho, it is stated that the text has been translated by the two—Nag-tsho and mKhas-btsun Śes-rab-'od who revised the Yogacaryā-Tathatā (rNal-'byor spyod-pa'i de-kho-na-ñid gtan-la dbab-pa), and he seems to have been this Śes-rab-'od. He founded the monastery of Kam, where about 700 monks gathered. He possessed a steadfast mental concentration which enabled him to transform evil external objects into virtuous ones. He died at the age of 75 in the year Iron-Female-Hog (lčags-mo-phag—1131 A.D.). The Fire-Hen year of his birth is the Fire-Hen year which followed the Wood-Horse year (Śin-rta-—1054 A.D.) of the death of the Master. The principal disciple of dGon-pa-pa was the kalyāṇa-mitra sNe'u-zur-pa who was born in the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1042 A.D.), at a place called Sa-skor thoṅ-pa of sNe'u-zur Proper. This Water-Horse year is the year of the Master's coming to Tibet (1042 A.D.). In his childhood he became a monk at bRag-rgyab ('Phan-yul). His name was Ye-śes-'bar. From that time (henceforth) an excellent innate mind concentration was born in him. sGom-pa Śes-rab dbaṅ-phyug once had a conversation with dPal-ldan dGon-pa-

pa on the subject of his mind concentration, and the latter said: "If he will be guided by a kalyāṇa-mitra, he will be successful. If not, he may go mad." Ses-rab dbaṅ-phyug then told sNe'u-zur-pa: "This kalyāṇa-mitra seems to be ready to instruct you." But (sNe'u-zur-pa) was prevented for a time from going there. Later, at the age of 26, in the Fire-Female-Sheep (me-mo-lug—1067 A.D.) year, he visited Rwa-sgreṅ, and requested an interview with dGon-pa-pa, but was told that dGon-pa-pa was in strict retirement and that no interview was possible. He then boiled some tea near a spring, situated below the upper monastery (dgon-pa-goṅ of Rwa-sgreṅ) and (31b) from that place offered to (dGon-pa-pa) an incense stick, prostrated himself several times and made the solemn wish: "May I attend on you, O Holy Man, in all my rebirths!" (dGon-pa-pa) perceived (his prayer) and soon afterwards sent him a message. Thus sNe'u-zur-pa met (his Teacher). The Teacher at first explained to him the "Offering of Jvālamukhī" (Kha-'bar-ma'i gtor-ma) and said: "When I met the Master (Atīśā), I was also given this first." sNe'u-zur-pa then thought to himself: "He seems to be giving me the complete secret precepts in the manner of the Master", and thus the complete precepts were bestowed on him.

Whenever he used to prostrate himself (in front of the Teacher) and think: "If only he would bless me with his foot", the Teacher used to stretch out his foot towards him. On one occasion, the Teacher blessed him by placing his three fingers on his head, and his three fingers made an imprint on his head which remained till his death. He chose bhaṭṭāraka Acala (Mi-gyo-ba) as his yi-dam (samādāna), recited the mantra (bsñen-pa) and obtained a vision of the deity. Further, following the precepts of dGon-pa-pa, he practised the precepts of the Trisamayarāja (Dam-tshig gsum-gyi rgyal-po, Trisamayarājasādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 3144), as well as had visions of many Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. After the death of dGon-pa-pa, he attended on Po-to-

ba. Others felt envy towards him and said (about him): "This one had an illicit intercourse with a woman!" and thus Po-to-ba felt disgust towards him. (sNe'u-zur-pa) told him that he had never committed such a transgression and Po-to-ba said to him: "By saying so, you only satisfy yourself", and reprimanded him. (sNe'u-zur-pa) then thought: "If only my Teacher with his intuitive knowledge were alive, such a thing could never have happened!" and he felt very depressed. Afterwards Po-to-ba found out that he was innocent and felt very glad. When Po-to-ba was reading at sTag-luṅ looking after many monks, more than ten monks became afflicted with leprosy (klu'i-nad), and Po-to-ba told (sNe'u-zur-pa) to treat the disease. sNe'u-zur-pa was successful in its treatment. Later, whenever Po-to-ba felt indisposed, his attendants used to suggest to him that such and such a kalyāṇa-mitra should be invited to perform the ceremony of removing ailments, but he did not listen to them. "Shall we invite sNe'u-zur-pa?" asked (32a)
they. "If he comes, it will be enough," said Po-to-ba. sNe'u-zur-pa then performed the ceremony, and when he was meditating there, he saw himself being lifted towards the sky and related the occurrence to Po-to-ba who said. "A! I thought that he will benefit me, but he seems to have benefitted himself!" Once, when he was going to Rwa-sgreṅ, he placed his foot on a boulder and tied his garter. A white snake came out from under the boulder. There was a leper who recovered by this only without further treatment (by the mere placing of his foot on the boulder). In this manner he helped many lepers but ordinary people considered him to be an astrologer only. They did not know that he possessed an immeasurable power of meditation and knowledge. Later he built the monastery of sNe'u-zur ('Phan-yul). While he was residing there, numerous devotees used to come to see him and many great Vidyadharas, including Jo-stan Nag-po of Tsha-roṅ, Ka-ba Dar-seṅ and others, attended on him. It was said that his mind

concentration was very steadfast and that he had become a friend of the Venerable Mid-la on the mere hearing of his name. He protected many people by leading them on the Path. He used to expound the Lam-rim (of the Master) beginning with the sections on the entry into the Saṃsāra and its abandonment. He also preached extensively the bsTan-rim (bsTan-rim čhen-mo; rJe Tson-kha-pa'i Lam-rim čhen-mo was mainly based on it) (by Gro-luṅ-pa) and many notes were taken down by disciples. The kalyāṇa-mitra Rin-čhen sgaṅ-pa čhen-po, two gTsaṅ-ston, the First and the Second, gÑal-pa Me, Bur-pa Yul-sman, dbUs-ston čhuṅ, mṄa'-gsal-ldan, Dum-bu-ri-pa Zla-ba rgyal mtshan, Rin-čan-pa, rTsibs-dgon-pa, Byaṅ-čhub dge-mdzes of mṄa'-ris, sNubs-sgom of gTsaṅ-roṅ, Myan-stod-pa, Braṅ-śoṅ-ba, War Padma, Ñi-phug-pa, Žaṅ-čhuṅ-ba, rGyaṅ-dkar-ba, Dar-brtson of rGyaṅ-roṅ, rDzil 'Od-grags, Dar-blo of sTod-luṅs, Mal-gro bKra-śis sgaṅ-pa, gLan čhu Mig-luṅ nu-ba, Phyi-luṅ-ba rGya-pa, Tshul-khrims 'od-zer and other, in all about a thousand disciples gathered round him. In gTsaṅ, Draṅ-po luṅ-pa and sPyi-bo Lhas-pa and others were also his disciples. Once, a great epidemic of influenza took place at gLaṅ-thaṅ and many people died of it. Then when the asuras began to move towards sNe'u-zur, a voice resounded from the sky: "He is a manifestation of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra," and the asuras turned back for (he) was known as a manifestation of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. He died at the age of 77 in the year Earth-Male-Dog (sa-pho-khyi—1118 A.D., The Re'u-mig, JASB. No. 2/1889/,p.44, gives 1119 A.D. an Earth-Hog year/sa-phag/). The Spiritual Lineage of this great kalyāṇa-mitra and that of sPyan-sṅa are known as "The Holders of Precepts" (gdams-nag-pa, one of the two main sects of the bKa'-gdams-pas: bKa'-gdams gdams-ṅag-pa and bKa'-gdams gŽuṅ-pa). dGyer-sgom čhen-po, uncle and nephew, were disciples of sNe'u-zur-pa. They were two great Bodhisattvas who had attained the bhūmi-stage and had taken up rebirth in order to labour for the welfare of others.

dGyer-sgom, the Great, was born in the year Iron-Male-Horse (lčags-pho-rta—1090 A.D.) in the family of dgYer Lha-snaṅ. He was a disciple of the bla-ma sNe'u-zur-pa, the holder of the bKa'-gdams-pa precepts, and of Bya-yul-pa. Because he held meditation in high esteem, he was known as dGyer-sgom (the yogin dGyer). His name was gŽon-nu grags-pa. He built the vihāra of Rin-čhen-sgan together with the monastery (of that name). He laboured extensively for the welfare of living beings and about 300 monks gathered round him. He died at the age of 82 in the year Iron-Female-Hare (lčags-mo-yos—1171 A. D.). dbOn-ston Rin-po-čhe, the son of Bu-mo-stag, a younger brother of dGyer-sgom, the Great, was known as a reincarnation of the Bodhisattva sKal-ldan Śiṅ-rta (Bhāgīrathi) who was to become a Buddha among the thousand Buddhas of this Bhadrakalpa. Further, an arhat (Mālyadeva), who was residing in Singha'i glin (Ceylon), sent to a younger brother of the great Kāśmīra paṇḍita Śākyaśrī a basket, having placed five flowers inside it, with the words: "Present these flowers to your elder brother who is going to Tibet! In the region of 'Bri there lives one named the Bodhisattva Rin-čhen-dpal, an incarnation of the ācārya Nāgārjuna. Give him one of the flowers. Give also one of the flowers to the manifestation of the Bodhisattva Bhāgīrathi residing at the vihāra of Ratnakūṭi. Give one flower to a Dvibhāṣin (dWi-bhā-ṣī, i.e. Gro-phug lo-tsā-ba). Place one flower on the heart of the large image (Gro-phug Byams-čhen) erected by this Dvibhāṣin ("one who knows two languages")." The great Kāśmīra paṇḍita having taken the flowers conveyed them (as desired). When the Kāśmīra paṇḍita was residing at bSam-yas, he questioned the Venerable Tārā, as to whether dbOn-ston was the Bodhisattva Bhāgīrathi. The Noble One said: "He is Bhāgin, but his chariot (ratha) will be soon broken, while engaged in the levelling of the valleys and mountains of a wild people." dbOn-ston Rin-po-čhe was born in the year Earth-Male-Horse (sa-pho-

rta—1138 A.D.) and laboured extensively for the welfare of others. He built a large vihāra, etc. On one occasion he gathered some of the heads of the congregation and assigned to them various duties, but they did not listen to him. Then dbOn-ston Rin-po-čhe said: "I thought, I shall hold the doctrine of the bKa'-gdams-pas in the north of dbU-ru. Now, if you do not agree with me, this māyā of mine may be absorbed within to-day." On saying so, he retired to bed, and after taking twice a small quantity of tea, he performed the rite of transference of the conscious principle ('pho-ba) and passed away at the age of 73 in the year Iron-Male-Horse (lčags-pho-rta—1210 A.D.). In the same year the Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen spent his summer retreat at Sa-skya. When sNe'u-zur-pa had died, dGyer-sgom, the Great, was 29. When dGyer-sgom died, dbOn-ston was 34. dbOn-ston occupied the abbot's chair for 42 years. Saṅs-rgyas yon-tan (Saṅ-yon-pa) occupied the chair for 32 years and died at the age of 61. bDe-gśegs čhen-po occupied the chair for 25 years and died at the age of 65. gŽon-nu-'bum of sKam-dgon occupied the chair for 18 months and died at the age of 68. Saṅs-rgyas 'od-'byun occupied the chair for 25 years and died at the age of 61. Saṅs-rgyas gžon-'od occupied the chair for 42 years and died at the age of 60. The Dharmasvāmin bKras-rgyal-ba (bKra-śis rgyal-mtshan) occupied the chair for 8 years and died at the age of 61. sPyan-sṅa Kun-bzaṅ-pa occupied the chair for one year and died at the age of 73. gŽon-nu seṅ-ge-ba (33b)
occupied the chair for one year and died at the age of 31. The Dharmasvāmin bSod-rgyal-ba (bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan) occupied the chair for 21 years and died at the age of 55.

Saṅ-yon-pa occupied the chair for five years and died at the age of 55. After that the chair remained empty for three years. sPyan-sṅa Saṅs-rgyas byaṅ-čhub-pa occupied the chair for 21 years and died at the age of 56. sPyan-sṅa Kun-blo-ba occupied the chair for eleven years and died at the age of 59. sPyan-sṅa gŽon-'od-pa occupied the chair

for 36 years. This 36th year is an Iron-Male-Horse year (lčags-pho rta—1450 A.D.). From the Iron-Sheep year (lčags-lug—1211 A.D.) of the previous Saṅ-yon, to this Iron-Horse (lčags-rta—1450 A.D.) year, 240 years have passed. sPyan-sṅa bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan was born in a Horse year (1390 A. D., an Iron-Horse year, lčags-rta). When he was 49, in the Earth-Horse year (1438), he occupied the chair (the chair must have remained empty for a couple of years), and acted as abbot for two years. At 59, in the year Earth-Male-Dragon (sa-pho-'brug—1448 A. D.) he died. The second bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan was born in the Serpent year (čhu-sbrul—1413 A. D.). At 27, in the Sheep year (lug-lo—1439 A. D.) he came to the chair and occupied it for two years. At present the chair is occupied by bLo-gros 'Jigs-med. From the birth of dGyer-sgom čhen-po in the year Iron-Male-Horse (lčags-pho-rta—1090 A. D.) to the year Iron-Horse (lčags-rta—1450 A.D.), when gŽon-'od, the Second had left the chair, 360 years have passed. This Iron-Horse year is the 61st year. From the birth of dGyer-sgom in the Iron-Horse year (lčags-rta—1090 A. D) to the death of dbOn-ston in the Iron-Horse year (lčags-rta—1210 —A. D.), 121 years have passed. From the Iron-Horse year (1450) when gŽon-'od, the Second, had left the chair, to the present Fire-Male-Ape year (me-pho-spre—1476 A. D.), 27 years have passed. During that period bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan and others came to the chair. In the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1042 A. D.), of the coming of the Master to Tibet, sNe'u-zur-pa was born. When he was 49 in the year Iron-Horse (lčags-rta—1090 A. D.), dGyer-sgom, the Great, was born. The ~~Chapter on rGya-ma~~-pa (34a).

Byaṅ-čhub dge-mdzes, a disciple of sNe'u-zur-pa and native of mṄa'-ris, born in the year Wood-Male-Mouse (śiṅ-pho-byi—1084 A. D.). This Wood-Mouse year is the 43rd year of sNe'u-zur-pa. His family name was dGe-śiṅ. He was ordained in his youth and studied the Vinaya. (34a)

He proceeded as a servant of the paṇḍita Sugataśrī who was invited by the gÑags lo-tsā-ba to Yar-kluṅs, and heard a brief (exposition) of the Prajñāpāramitā, from the paṇḍita and the lo-tsā-ba as well as studied the Five Treatises of the bhaṭṭāraka Maitreya (Byams-čhos). He studied the Vinaya with Tsha-roṅ-pa. He also met Phu-čhuṅ-ba, gLaṅ-ro Thaṅ-pa, Kam-pa and Kham-pa luṅ-pa. He had visions of the dharmapāla Nātha (Mahākāla) and said to him: "Should there be a transgression in my observance of the monastic vows of Pratimokṣa and of the vows of a Vidyādhara (Tantra vows), then draw the blood of (my) heart!" The Protector said to him: "You, a monk! and such a fierce vow!" He had great faith in sNe'u-zur-pa and heard (from him) the Lam-rim (of the Master). The kalyāṇa-mitra sGre-pa having come to gYer in order to present his knowledge to sNe'u-zur-pa, he acted as his priest. When sNe'u-zur-pa died, he obtained a section of the Doctrine from Bya-yul-pa and meditated at the monastery of Byes-čan. At the age of 84, in the Fire-Hog year (me-phag-lo — 1167 A. D.) he performed the 'pho-ba ceremony and died. His disciple was sKor, the Great. He was ordained as novice and then received the final monastic ordination in the presence of gÑags-čhuṅ lo-tsā-ba. He then proceeded to gTsaṅ and studied extensively. He also met sNe'u-zur-pa for a brief while and then proceeded to sTag-čan. gÑags lo-tsā-ba was then acting as head of sTag-čan. sKor erected the outer wall (lčags-ri) and requested Don-steṅs-pa to consecrate it. When he was asking Don-steṅs-pa for the cittotpāda ceremony, the sign of a great earthquake took place. Altogether, he attended on about sixty teachers. Gun-pa-ba prophesied to him, and according to it, he obtained from mṄa'-ris-pa dGe-mdzes the teaching of sNe'u-zur-pa. He built the great stūpa of sTag-čan (sTag-čan bum-pa in Yar-kluṅs). The entire population, from sṄar-'dzin as far as Bar-thaṅ, came to do the work. At his death, sKor-Ĵo-sras was appointed by him to the abbot's chair. Ĵo-sras had

studied the Vinaya with sBas-ti at dGe-goṅ. The kalyāṇa-mitra sTon-dar and the sthavira brTsod-śe did not install him (as abbot) and he proceeded to Śa-'ug sTag-go. There he had a vision of the Great Merciful One (Avalokiteśvara). He was again invited to sTag-čan. He caused the influence of Khra-'brug (a famous temple) to increase. He died at rGya-sa-sgaṅ. His successor who was known as Mar-pa Phug-pa, was ordained in the presence of gSer-sdiṅs-pa and received the final monastic ordination in the presence of kLubs-dkar. He studied extensively the Vinaya. For twenty years he practised meditation and studied with sKor-Ǯo-sras the precepts of the bKa'-gdams-pas. From 63 onwards, he began teaching. He took over sTag-čan, Ser-ba dgon-pa, rGyas-sa-sgan, bTsan-thaṅ and Roṅ-skam. He died at the age of 73 in the year of the Mouse (byi-lo—1228 A.D.). His successor was Žig-po Kun-grol. His native place was Eastern Yar-kluns. He received the noviciate and the final monastic ordination in the presence of Gra-'dul and Yol-lčags. For four years he attended on Mar-Phug-pa. He worshipped chiefly Amoghapaśa (Don-žags) as his object of meditation (samādāna) He had also been a disciple of Saṅs-rgyas sgom-pa of sNar-thaṅ. When Sa-skya-pa arrived in dbUs, he invited him to dPuṅs-riṅs and offered him a hundred presents. From Khu sPyan-gyas-pa he received the rite of consecration and the cittotpāda ceremony. He studied the bsTan-rim with Zem at Bya-yul, and the Lam-rim (of the Master) with Lha sPu-gu-do-ba. He studied for a month also under Lha-'bri-sgaṅ-pa. He also studied under rJe sPyan-sṅa, 'Bri-khun gČuṅ Rin-po-čhe and gYam-bzaṅs sNubs-sgom. From the paṇḍita Dānaśīla he obtained the complete four stages of initiations. He studied the Dohā under the Nepālese 'Bum-me and the Nepālese Grags-'bum. He studied the Ži-byed (the system of Pha-dam-pa) under 'Chus-pa Ǯo-bsod. He had many visions of numerous gods of meditations. For 116 times he preached the Lam-rim. The system of (34b)

Amoghapaśa of Chos-phug originated from this Teacher. His successor was Saṅs-rgyas ston-pa, a native of Lo-mo. His family was mTha'-bži. At the age of 18, he was ordained in the presence of Žig-po. He took up the final monastic ordination (upasampadā) at sPyil-bu in the presence of Lha 'Gro-bo'i mgon-po, and laboured extensively for the welfare of the Doctrine and living creatures. He died in the year Water-Female-Ox (čhu-mo-glaṅ—1313 A.D.). His spiritual son Saṅs-rgyas-dbon, the Great, was a disciple of Lha-zur-khaṅ-pa. He was ordained as novice at La-kha by the upādhyāya Śes-rab rgyal-mtshan. He studied the bKa'-gdams doctrine under Saṅs-rgyas ston-pa at Chos-phug. He obtained from the lo-tsā-ba Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan the (35a) initiation into the rDo-rJe phreṅ-ba (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 445), as well as attended on many Teachers. He passed away in the year Earth-Male-Dog (sa-pho-khyi—1358 A.D.). At Chos-phug, Saṅs-rgyas dbon-po was succeeded by Chos-phug-pa gŽon-nu blo-gros, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, Grags-pa bzaṅ-po, rDo-rJe rgyal-mtshan and Saṅs-rgyas rdo-rJe. Till the present time the practice of preaching the Lam-rim čhen-po of sKor to an assembly has not been interrupted. The above represents the line of abbots of sTag-čan. The chapter on Kam-pa and Śar-ba-pa, disciples of dGon-pa-pa, and their followers.

Since the monastery of Bra-gor had been established by gÑos Bra-gor-pa of gÑal, it should be considered as belonging to the Line of the "Holders of the Texts" among the bKa'-gdams-pas (bKa'-gdams-gžuṅ-pa). I did not see an account about the abbots who succeeded gÑos Bra-gor-pa. In later times there have been four chief disciples of Dar-ma bSod-nams of Zaṅs-čhen who had been a disciple of Lha 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po: mTsho-sna-ba, rTse-dkar-ba, Dar-ma sgaṅ-ba and Byar Khaṅ-pa. They are known as the "Four sons of Zaṅs-čhen-pa." Among them mTsho-sna-ba Śes-rab bzaṅ-po resided at Bra-gor. After him Tshul-khrims bkra-śis of Mon-grab,

Sańs-rgyas śes-rab of gYe, Chos-skyabs bzań-po, Chos-dpal rgyal-ba, bSod-nams dpal-ldan, also known as the mahā-upādhyāya Brag-pa, Yon-tan Rin-čhen bSam-se-ba, rDor-se-ba, Yon-dbań-pa, Chos-rJe-ba, Čhos-rgyal bzań-po, Čhos-rgyal bzań-po dbu-nag-pa, brTson-'grus rgyal-po and Yon-tan 'od-zer of gTsań. Before him there had been 15 upādhyāyas. rGyal-mtshan bzań-po of Ri-steńs, a disciple of mTsho-na-ba, the Great, (was abbot) at Ri-steńs. After him the Dharmasvāmin Rin-čhen, Koń-ston Śes-rab rdo-rJe, sKu-'bum-pa, Chos-rgyal-ba, the Dharmasvāmin dPal-bzańs-pa, an incarnation of sGo-gčig-pa, known as sGo-gčig-pa. Before him there had been seven upādhyāyas. The one known as Roń-pa Phyag-sor-pa attended on 'Brom-ston-pa, dGon-pa-pa, rNal-'byor-pa, Kha-ru-ba, the Former, Žań-btsun Yer-ba-pa and sGom-pa Dad-pa of Yer-rtsi-sgań. He remembered thirteen of his (former) lives and possessed (35b) great prophetic knowledge. Because of his power of mental concentration, he was learned in the five branches of knowledge. He was of the opinion, that because of the excellence of the Master's precepts, there must have existed an account on the Master's invitation to Tibet, (but) he was unable to find it anywhere. He visited Nag-tsho lo-tsā-ba who was residing at Khab-goń-thań. Nag-tsho bestowed on him numerous secret precepts of the Mantrayāna and he spent three years (with him). Next year he requested Nag-tsho to relate to him the story of the Master's invitation to Tibet. The lo-tsā-ba said: "I attended for 19 years on the Master and have invited him to Tibet," and he gladly related to him the story. When he was returning, Nag-tsho told him that he should meditate at a certain place, and uttered a prophecy concerning Lag-sor dgon-pa. On his return, he was welcomed by Phoń-mdo-pa. He preached the Vinaya-sūtra (mDo-rtsa) and the Śikṣāsamuccaya. Then he renounced all (worldly) activity and for a long time meditated at Lag-sor monastery, without seeing his attendant. At the end of his meditation, when

he was proceeding to mediate in a dispute between sPa-tshab and 'Phran-kha, he met rMa-tsho Byaṅ-rdor at Phoṅ-mdo. He invited him and De'u Śaṅ-rdor, and held a religious assembly during which the "Four Sons of Roṅ-pa" appeared. They are: Bya 'dul-ba-'dzin-pa, Rog-'čhims-phu-ba, rNam-par-ba and the kalyāṇa-mitra Žus-lan-pa. rGya-ra-ston being an upāsaka is not included among the sons. rNam-par-ba founded rNam-par and Ram-pa Lha-sdiṅs. He also acted as abbot of gSaṅ-phu for eight years. rNam-par-ba and Rog held in high esteem the secret precepts. They seem not to have cared for the history (of the school). Žus-lan-pa held in high esteem the history, basing on which Zul-phu-ba composed a detailed history of the Master. Zul-phu-ba studied much the bKa'-gdams-pa precepts under sTod-luṅs-pa, the Great, but his followers are listed among the Vinayadharas and none of them seem to have been listed among the bKa'-gdams-pas. The disciple of rNal-'byor-pa, the Great,—Man-ra 'Byuṅ-gnas rgyal-mtshan. His (36a)
disciple brTson-'grus rgyal-mtshan of sÑug-rum: he was born in the year Water-Male-Horse (čhu-pho-rta—1042 A.D.) and died at the age of 68 in the year Earth-Female-Ox (sa-mo-glaṅ—1109 A.D.). About eight hundred monks gathered round him. A native of Lho-brag čhag-pa, Khri-mčhog by name: this Čhag Khri-mčhog (died in 1058 A.D. according to the Sum-pa mkhan-po's Re'u-mig /JASB, No. 2, 1889, p.41/) obtained many instructions from the Venerable Master. On three occasions he acted as messenger to convey to India the presents received by the Master. It is said, that there was no one like him in the preaching of treatises (śāstras) and the analysis of the theory (siddhānta). At the time of the Master's death, he asked the Master: "Master, You will not stay long (in this World). After your death, should I meditate?"—"It will be of no use," answered the Master. "Should I preach?"—he asked the Master, and the Master again replied: "It will be of no use." "Well then, should I preach and

meditate alternatively," and the Master replied: "Also of no use!" – "Master! How should I then act?." The Master said: "Abandon this life!" He then taught for one year the Piṭaka to a crowd (of disciples) in Lha-sa. Then having gone to Rwa-sgreṅ, he offered tea (to the congregation) equal in weight to one luṅ-rdo (ston weight in Tibet) and addressing the congregation, said: "To-day I have to make a speech which will be similar to a boulder coming down a steep slope. Each of you should forgive me for doing so." He then asked the kalyāṇa-mitra sTon-pa: "O kalyāṇa-mitra! You possess all the precepts of the Master in the manner of pouring water from one vase into another. You will not say "This (will be) of no use," and also "this (will be) of no use." Please preach the precepts of the Master without concealing them." To rNal-'byor-pa he said: "You, rNal-'byor-pa, had acted in a wicked manner in respect of worldly matters! You had left the service of the Master and have followed after sPa-rgya-mtsho. You have acted in a wicked manner in respect of religious matters! You have abandoned your meditation on the secret precepts of the Master and have studied the bDag-med ma'i sgrub-thabs (Nairātmā-sādhana) of dbUs-čhuṅ ston-pa." Having thus admonished them, he said: "From to-day I shall cut the thought about this life." They then thought that he would reside in seclusion inside a house, but he did not keep to the precincts of the house, and stayed in the monastery without talking to people. On one occasion, when kalyāṇa-mitra gSaṅ-phu-ba came to Rwa-sgreṅ, and being his intimate friend, thought; "I shall have a talk with him which will satisfy me!" On meeting him, sÑug-rum-pa said: "O kalyāṇa-mitra! Please excuse me, for I am devoid of anything belonging to the human stage!" (I am not a real human being) and on having said so, he wandered away into the forests (without saying anything further). gSaṅ-phu-ba said: "I had never experienced a greater disappointment than at that time!" There (in the

forest) sÑug-rum-pa spent most of his time meditating. It is said that on one occasion he proceeded to the abode of heavenly ḍākiṇīs (vyomacaryā, mkha'-spyod) from the surface of a boulder situated to the left of the hut of dGon-pa-pa.

The religious king (dharmarāja) Khri-sroṅ lde-btsan had a minister, rÑog, the Great, by name. When the king (36b)
led an army towards China, he pitched his camp on the top of a small hill. When the troops moved off to conquer other regions, some Chinese warriors (gyen-po, a wrestler, fencer) came to attack and rushed towards the king (i.e. attempted on the king's life). rÑog then killed some of them and some fled away. It was then that a new proverb came into being: "Chinese curds (meaning brain) were swallowed, and Chinese youths were smashed against the rock." The minister's descendants inhabited a village on the shores of a big lake outside of Ya-'brog-do. Among them there was a kalyāṇa-mitra belonging to the "Old" Tantra School named rDo-rje gžon-nu who had five sons, and the eldest among them was rÑog Legs-pa'i Śes-rab. The second was kLu-khri, the third—kLu-byaṅ and the fourth—Chos-skyabs, the fifth—Thub-pa. Of these, the eldest rÑog Legs-pa'i Śes-rab was ordained by 'Brin Ye-śes yon-tan. He went to Khams to study the Piṭakas and became a disciple of the Master Se-btsun. He studied extensively the Doctrine, and having befriended Khu-ston and others, went to dbUs in the Hen-year (bya-lo—1045 A. D.) which is the Hen-year following the year of 'Brom-ston's coming (to dbUs). He founded a college and had numerous disciples. When the Master was residing at sÑe-thaṅ, he studied extensively under the Master. He possessed a very good intellect and had no disagreements with any of the Master's disciples. He then requested the Master and the lo-tsā-ba (Nag-tsho) to translate the Tarkajvālā (Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3856). The Master agreed and Nag-tsho prepared a complete translation at Lha-sa. Again on request of rÑog, the Master wrote the Mādhyamakopadeśa-nāma

(dbU-ma'i man-ṅag/Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3929/). He first founded a monastery at Brag-nag (near Lha-sa) and then later, following a prophecy made by the Master, founded the great Vihāra of Ne'u-thog (gSaṅ-phu) in the year Water-Female-Ox (čhu-mo-glaṅ—1073 A.D.). In the same year 'Khon dKon-mčhog rgyal-po founded Sa-skya. On several occasions he visited Rwa-sgreṅ from gSaṅ-phu, and met sTon-pa and his brothers. He held in high esteem the Master's teaching. His nephew rÑog Lo-čhen-po (37a) (rÑog bLo-ldan śes-rab/1059-1109/) was born in the year Earth-Female-Hog (sa-mo-phag—1059 A.D.) as son of Čhos-skyabs. In his childhood he went to live with his uncle and studied much under him and sPo-čhuṅ-ba Tshul-khrims śes-rab, a disciple of gZus and others. Having acquired an excellent wisdom, his uncle became pleased with him. When he was 17, he was sent for study to Kāśmīra. He went there in the company of Rwa-lo, gÑan-lo, Khyuṅ-po Čhos-brtson, rDo-ston and gTsaṅ Kha-bo-čhe. When king rTse-lde had invited most of the Tripiṭakadharas of dbUs, gTsaṅ and Khams, and held the religious council of the year Fire-Male-Dragon (me-pho-'brug—1076 A.D.), he also attended it. rTse-lde's son dBaṅ-phyug-lde decided to become a supporter of rÑog. He then proceeded to Kāśmīra where he attended on six teachers, including the paṇḍita Sañjana and Parāhitabhadra. His provisions having come to an end, he sent a letter to mÑa'-ris, entitled Kha-čhe gser-sloṅs. dBaṅ-lde sent him again much gold. He received the request to translate the Tshad-ma-rgyan (Pramāṇālaṃkāra, Pramāṇavārtikālaṃkāra, Tg. Tshad-ma, No. 4221), and assisted by the paṇḍita sKal-ldan rgyal-po he made a good translation of it. He studied for 17 years in Kāśmīra and then returned to Tibet. In Tibet he studied the Doctrine with the paṇḍita 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa (brTan-skyoṅ, Sthirapāla) and Sumatikīrti. He visited Nepāl for a short while and heard the Tantra from Atulya-vajra, Varendraruci and others. Then he again returned to Tibet and made

numerous correct translations. Regarding the number of works translated by him, Gro-luṅ-pa said: "He, who was an expert in the translation of the Holy Doctrine, translated the two Mātṛkas and Śāstras, containing more then 137,000 ślokas." When he was preaching at Lha-sa, bSam-yas, Myu-gu-sna, gÑal-sgaṅ-thog, gTsaṅ rGyaṅ-mkhar and other places, Gro-luṅ-pa said that he gradually gathered round himself 23,000 learned and venerable monks. Among his assistant preachers (žur-čhos-pa) were: 55 preachers of Alaṃkāra (Pramāṇavārtikālaṃkāra) and Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā (Tg. Tshad-ma, No. 4229), 280 expounders of the Pramāṇaviniścaya (rNam-ṅes), 1800 Āgama-dharmabhāṇakas (Luṅ-čhos-smra-ba) and about 2130 preachers of the (37b)
Doctrine (dharmabhāṇakas, čhos-smra-ba). He composed commentaries and taught extensively Logic (tshad-ma), the Five Treatises of Maitreya (Byams-čhos-sde-lṅa), the Mādhyamika doctrine and other texts. This Mahāsattva, endowed with the perfect practice of all the six pāramitās, passed away at the age of 51 on the road in the neighbourhood of bSam-yas. Among the numerous disciples who attended his classes, formerly and later, four are known as his "Four Principal Sons": Žaṅ-tshes sPoṅ Čhos-kyi bla-ma, Gro-luṅ-pa bLo-gros 'byuṅ-gnas, Khyuṅ Rin-čhen-grags and 'Bre Śes-rab-'bar. There appeared many teachers such as Gaṅs-pa Śe'u, Goṅ-bu Ra-čan, Śam-po Me-dig, Me-lhaṅ-tsher, dMar-sgas-luṅ, rÑog sKya-bo, Tre-bo mČhog-gi bla-ma and others. The lo-tsā-ba himself heard the (exposition) of the Doctrine of the Master from (his) uncle. He also composed a śāstra on the Lam-rim (of the Master). Gro-luṅ-pa appears to have composed a Lam-rim čhen-mo and a bsTan-rim čhen-mo. Up to the time of the direct disciples of the uncle and nephew, all were holders of the Master's treatises. rÑog Legs-pa'i śes-rab being also a disciple of 'Brom, is included among the bKa'-gdams-pas. In general, during the 13 years of the Master's stay in Tibet, there had been many on whom he bestowed secret precepts and who had obtained

excellent knowledge (of the Doctrine), but their number cannot be ascertained. In gTsaṅ-'Gar, 'Gos and Yol, and in dbUs-Khu, rṄog and 'Brom appear to have been famous. I gave here a brief account about the kalyāṇa-mitras of the bKa'-gdams-pa sect who belonged to the Spiritual Lineage of 'Brom and whose biographies have been seen by me. In the "Life-stories" of the kalyāṇa-mitras who had appeared in Tibet in later times, and of the yogins who had been Saints, statements are found that they had met the kalyāṇa-mitras of the bKa'-gdams-pas. 'Brom's labours have been very extensive and lasted for a long period of time. Above I have briefly described the results of the setting into motion of the Wheel of Law by Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna. The Chapter on the Venerable Master and his Spiritual Lineage.

BOOK VI

rÑog lo-tsā-ba, Pa-tshab lo-tsā-ba and their Lineage. The Origin (of the teaching) of the Mādhyamika, the Nyāya and the "Five-Treatises" of Maitreya-Asaṅga.

Now, we need not think that those who had been the disciples of the personal disciples of (rÑog) lo-tsā-ba, the great Tripiṭakadharas, who had taught the great fundamental texts (gžuṅ), had been the followers of the bKa'-gdams-pa school. The story of the labours in the interest of the Doctrine performed by the abbots of dPal gSaṅ-phu monastery is to be told here :

The great lo-tsā-ba Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po was born in the year Earth-Male-Horse (sa-pho-rta—958 A. D.) and died at the age of 98 in the year Wood-Female-Sheep (śiṅ-mo-lug—1055 A. D.). When the Great Translator was 54, in the year Iron-Female-Hog (lčags-mo-phag—1011 A. D.) Nag-tsho lo-tsā-ba was born. When Nag-tsho was 49 in the year Earth-Female-Hog (sa-mo-phag—1059 A. D.) rÑog lo-tsā-ba bLo-ldan śes-rab was born. When the latter was 18, he attended the Religious Council (čhos-'khor) of the year Fire-Male-Dragon (me-pho-'brug—1076 A.D) held by king (mṅa'-bdag) rTse-lde, in company with Dags-po dBaṅ-rgyal, Rwā-lo, gÑan-lo, Khyuṅ-po Čhos-brtsan, Mar-thuṅ Dad-pa śes-rab, Maṅ-or Byaṅ-čhub śes-rab and bTsan Kha-bo-čhe. After having studied for seventeen years in Kāśmīra, he returned to Tibet in the year Water-Male-Ape (čhu-pho-spre'u—1092 A. D.), aged 35. Having laboured extensively for the welfare of living creatures, he passed away at the age of 51 in the year Earth-Female-Ox (sa-mo-glaṅ—1109 A. D.). In the next Iron-Male-Tiger year (lčags-pho-stag—1110 A. D.) 'Gro-mgon Phag-mo gru-pa was born. After the death of (rÑog) lo-tsā-ba, the abbot's chair was occupied by Žaṅ Tshes-spoṅ-ba Čhos-kyi bla-ma for 32 years.

After him (the chair was occupied) by gÑal-pa Ri-lu for 32 years, by rÑ am-par-ba for 8 years and by Phyā-pa Chos-kyi seṅ-ge for 18 years. Phyā-pa died in the year Earth-Female-Ox (sa-mo-glaṅ—1169 A. D.). When Phyā-pa was seventeen rMa-bya Byaṅ-čhub brtson-'grus (Byaṅ-brtson) died. After Phyā-pa, for 5 years rTsags dBaṅ-phyug seṅ-ge; for 13 years gTsaṅ-pa 'J̌am-seṅ-ge; for 7 years gÑal-pa Dad-pa bzaṅ-po; for 7 years Dzam-čan-ne; bZaṅ-pa Darma-'od and bZaṅ-pa Don-grub both for 30 years; for 15 years the ācārya J̌o-nam; for six months Rog; for 35 years 'Od-zer mgon-po. In general, the above years when added together, amount to about 159 years. However only 156 (1a)
years had elapsed, for some of the abbots had occupied the chair concurrently, and this accounts for the three extra years. I did not include among the above years the three years of 'J̌am-seṅ, as some (authors) do not enumerate him (among the abbots). After him 'J̌am-dbyans Śākya gžon-nu occupied the chair for 27 years from the Fire-Male-Tiger year (me-pho-stag—1326 A. D.). After him rGya-ma Bkra-śis rgyal-mtshan for 8 years; then Phyog-las rnam-rgyal for 8 years; Yar-'brog-pa gŽon-rgyal for one month; gŽon-seṅ of rGyal-sde for eight years; gTsaṅ-dkar for three years; bLo-gros seṅ-ge for seventeen years; Ṅar-dbaṅ for seven years; bLa-ma-Ye-śes for ten years; Śes-rab rgyal-mtshan for three years, gŽon-nu blo-ldan for six years; bLo-gros brtan-pa for three years; Chaṅ-ma sṅon-po for five years; bSod-nams-'phel for nineteen years; Seṅ-ge rgyal-mtshan for eight years; bSam-gtan bzaṅ-po for seven years; Saṅs-rgyas rgyal-mtshan for ten years; brTson-'grus seṅ-ge for six years; Yon-tan rgya-mtsho for five years; Saṅ-čhos-pa for fourteen years; then the present (abbot) Śes-rab dpal-ldan. Till 'J̌am-dpal seṅ-ge, the Line of abbots of the Upper Monastery (of gSaṅ-phu) was one. Then Žu-ston Hral-mo for five years; bLo-gros-'bar for five years; gÑal-žig for eight years; rGya-'čhiṅ Ru-ba for eighteen years; Chu-mig-pa for eighteen years; lDan-ma Grags-rin for eighteen years; bLo-brag-pa for

twenty-two years; Sog-dbon for 7 years; bTsan-dgon-pa for twenty years; Chos-dpal rgyal-mtshan of bLa-bran for six years; gŽon-rin for twelve years; Lha-ston Žig-po for seventeen years; Yan-rtse-pa for five years; Lha-yul-pa for thirteen years; Bon-ston Śer-bzan for seven years; Rin-čhen grags-pa for seven years; Yon-tan rgya-mtsho for fourteen years; dKon-mčhog tshul-khrims for seven years; Rin-čhen rnam-rgyal for twenty-two years; 'Od-čhen-pa for six years; Grags-pa-dpal for five years; dKon-mčhog rgya-mtsho for (2a)
seventeen years; Mi-ñag Rin-čhen bzan-po for seven months; dPal-ldan sen-ge for eleven years, Kun-dga' dban-phyug for thirteen years; then the present Rin-čhen byan-čhub. From the lo-tsā-ba's birth to the present Fire-Male-Ape year (me-pho-spre—1476 A.D.), 418 years have elapsed. Śes-rab-'bar of 'Bre, the best of the lo-tsā-ba's disciples, visited the monastery of sKyegs gNas-rñin and others. He preached extensively both the Sūtra of the Prajñāpāramitā and the śāstras (i.e. commentaries). It is said, that during his teaching, the gods used to come down to hear his exposition. In his teaching he followed the tradition of the Prajñāpāramitā as taught during the period of the early spread of the Doctrine and which had been preserved in Khams. While he had numerous disciples, the Lineage of Teaching was mainly held by Byan-čhub ye-śes of Ar. He taught till a very old age at gNam-rtse-ldan (near Rwa-sgren) and other monasteries. During this period, he also acted as abbot of rGyal Lha-khan, and also composed many expositions on the Prajñāpāramitā and its commentaries (śāstras). The Tibetan traditional interpretation of the basic text of the Prajñāpāramitā is mainly based on the expositions by 'Bre and Ar. Khu Ser-brtson, though he had met 'Bre, followed mainly the tradition of Ar in his numerous detailed, medium and abridged commentaries on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra and its commentary. gŽon-nu tshul-khrims, known as sKar-čhun rin-mo, also studied under Ar. He composed numerous commentaries on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, on its "Short Commentary" ('grel-čhun—Sphuṭārtha, 'Grel-pa

don-gsal, composed by Haribhadra), on the sDud-pa (Phags-pa Śes-rab-kyi Pha-rol-tu phyin-pa sdud-pa tshigs-su bčad-pa, Ārya-Prajñāpāramitāsañcaya-gāthā, translated by Vidyākarasiṃha and dPal-brtsegs. Kg. śer-phyin, No. 13; Bu-ston Čhos-'byuṅ, fol. 146a: sdud-pa bam-po gčig dPal-brtsegs-kyis 'gyur-pa-ste). The disciple of both Khu and sKar-čhuṅ-pa-sMon-lam tshul-khrims of Žaṅ-gye took over numerous monasteries, including sÑe-thaṅ and others. He was a very wealthy man and wrote detailed commentaries on the śāstras, including one on the Sphuṭārtha and one on the Pramāṇaviniścaya (rNam-ṅes, Tshad-ma rnam-ṅes). Great was his benefit to others. His disciple dBaṅ-phyug rgyal-po took up residence at Grib-kyi phu (Upper Grib) and maintained there a numerous congregation. He composed a very extensive commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā. Žaṅ-gye-pa's disciple gÑal-pa Žig-po. The latter's disciple rGya-'čhaṅ Ru-ba. Then Seṅ-ge-dpal of Čhu-mig, Lho-brag-pa, Tshad-ma'i skyes-bu, Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe. The great paṇḍita Dharmaśrī, bSod-nams sen-ge of Ru-mtshams and thus down to sPo-bo Yon-tan seṅ-ge in regular succession. Yon-tan seṅ-ge explained on twenty-six occasions the Sphuṭārtha to my Venerable Teacher Śākya dbaṅ-phyug and improved his knowledge very much. From the latter I heard the exposition of the text. Further, bLo-gros 'byuṅ-gnas of Gro-luṅ, the chief disciple of the great (rṄog) lo-tsā-ba, held in high esteem all the teachings of the great Translator (rṄog). In general, he composed numerous commentaries on the systems of both the Tantras and Sūtras. He composed an extensive Lam-rim (Degrees of the Path) and a bsTan-rim (bsTan-rim: "Degrees of Teaching") in the domain of the bKa'-gdams-pa system. In particular, he composed an Analysis based on the commentary on the "Short Commentary" ('grel-čhuṅ) by the Great Translator (rṄog). His early life was bereft of wealth. Then Guṅ-pa Lha-rje, a disciple of sNe'u-zur-pa, bestowed on him the avavāda of the yakṣa rMugs-'dzin (the yakṣa Jambhala)

and he was able to collect great wealth. He also built the large vihāra of Brin-las. When this Mahātman had reached the end of his life, the ācārya Phyā-pa studied with great diligence under him and composed an extensive commentary on the Sphuṭārtha. The followers (of Phyā-pa) should be distinguished from those of 'Bre and Ar. Further, Gaṅs-pa Śe'u Blo-gros byaṅ-čhub was very learned in the domains of the Sūtras and Tantras. His and 'Khyuṅ Rin-čhen-grags's disciple rGya-dmar-pa Byaṅ-čhub-grags of sTod-luṅs taught at Myaṅ-ro and other monasteries. He had (3a) many learned disciples. The ācārya Phyā-pa also studied under him the systems of Mādhyamaka and Nyāya. rGya-dmar-pa was not only fully learned, but also possessed numerous Tantric secret precepts. He and Ar requested dKon-mčhog-dpal of Lho, a direct disciple of Ka-rag sgom-čhuṅ, to perfect the exposition of the "Training of the Mind" (Sems-sbyoṅ). It appears that rGya-dmar-pa also obtained many instructions from La-ba'i 'od-zer, a son of 'Khon-phu-ba. (rGya-dmar-pa) had many learned disciples including the great paṇḍita Čog-ro Čhos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, dPal Phag-mo gru-pa, 'Bal Tshad-ma-pa, sKyil-mkhar Lha-khaṅ-pa, Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa and others. He also composed many commendiums and commentaries on the Pramāṇaviniścaya, the bDen-gñis (bDen-pa gñis rnam-par 'byed-pa'i Tshig-le'ur-byas-pa, Satyadvayavibhaṅgakārikā, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3881) and other texts. Žaṅ-tshe sPoṅ-ba Čhos-kyi bla-ma composed several commentaries. His disciple Ñaṅ-bran-pa Čhos-kyi ye-śes composed text-books (yig-čha) on religious practice, on the Śikṣāsamuccaya (bSlab-pa kun-las btus-pa), the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra (Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3871) and other texts, and taught to many disciples. This teacher was famous as a great benefactor in the "Domain of Practice". The Teacher Phyā-pa before occupying the chair of Ne'u-thog (gSaṅ-phu) maintained many religious schools, composed śāstras, numerous commentaries on the "Five Treatises" of Maitreya, the Pramāṇaviniścaya, the dbU-ma bden-gñis, the Mādhyamak-

ālaṃkārakārikā (Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3887), the Mādhyamakāloka (Tg. dbU-ma No. 3887), the Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra and other texts. He also composed their respective abridgements. He composed the Tshad-ma'i bsdus-pa Yid-kyi mun-sel in verses (kārikās ; there exist several well-known texts of the same title written by various authors. The text by Phyā-pa is not extant at present) and an auto-commentary thereon; also a Yid-kyi mun-sel without a commentary. Also a large and short abridgment of the Mādhyamaka system. Further, he seems to have composed many other compositions. These had been seen by me and I also have heard about a Phyi-naṅ-gi grub-mtha 'bsdus-pa, or "Summary on the theories of non-buddhists and Buddhists", and about a Śes-bya gži-lṅa'i bśad-pa, "Exposition of the five bases of the knowable" by him. Most of the Piṭakadharas of that time had been his disciples. gTsaṅ-nag-pa brTson-'grus seṅ-ge, Dan-bag-pa smra-ba'i seṅ-ge (Dan-bag, near 'Bras-spuṅs), Bru-śa bSod-nams seṅ-ge, rMa-bya (near Sa-skya) rTsod-pa'i seṅ-ge, rTsags dBaṅ-phyug seṅ-ge, Myaṅ-bran Čhos-kyi seṅ-ge, lDan-ma dKon-mčhog seṅ-ge and gÑal-pa Yon-tan seṅ-ge—the "Eight Mighty Lions" (seṅ-čhen-brgyad). Some include (among them) gTsaṅ-pa 'J̌am-dpal seṅ-ge. 'Khon J̌o-sras rTse-mo, rÑog J̌o-sras Ra-mo, Khu J̌o-sras Ne-tso, gÑos J̌o-sras dPal-le, these four were called "the Four J̌o-sras". 'Gar dBaṅ-grub, Koṅ-po 'J̌ag-čhuṅ, Lho-pa sGog-zan and Bar-pu-pa—these four were called "The Four Wise Ones" (śes-rab-čan bži). Further 'J̌aṅ-pa Ston-skyabs, rDo-rǰe 'od-zer and others. Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa Žaṅ 'Tshal-pa, as well as many others. Among these: gTsaṅ-nag-pa. After having worshipped the Venerable Mañjuśrī, he developed a sharp intellect and became very learned. He composed numerous text-books on the Mādhyamaka, Nyāya and on other subjects. He also composed a large commentary on the Pramāṇaviniścaya, a Concordance between the Seventy Topics and the Prajñāpāramitāsūtra and an Analysis of the Śikṣāsamuccaya (bsLab-btus), the Caryāvatāra and Mādhyamaka-śāstras.

The ācārya Phyā-pa wrote many refutations (dgag-pa) of the works of the ācārya Candrakīrti. gTsaṅ-nag-pa (the ācārya gTsaṅ-nag-pa's exposition of Logic was very popular in the monastery of Roṅ-wo /Reb-koṅ, Amdo/. There exists a printed edition of the work at Roṅ-wo.) said: "A man similar to me, able through study to ascertain the meaning of texts according to the method of Śrī Candrakīrti, will not appear henceforth." His numerous large and abridged commentaries on the Mādhyamaka follow the method of Candrakīrti. rMa-bya Byaṅ-čhub brtson-'grus: besides being very learned in the Āgamas and in the Nyāya, he laboured extensively for the benefit of others by preaching the Mādhyamaka system. He also composed a commentary on the Prajñāmūla (rTsa-ba śes-rab, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3824), a summary on the Prasannapadā (Tshig-gsal, dbU-ma rtsa-ba'i 'grel-pa Tshig-gsal-ba žes-bya-ba, Mūlamādhyamaka-vṛtti-Prasannapadā-nāma, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3860), the Mādhyamakārthasaṃgraha (dbU-ma'i bsdud-pa, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3857) and the Tarkamudgarakārikā (rTog-ge Tho-ba'i ṭīkā, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3869). He also (not only gTsaṅ-nag-pa (4a)
who preferred the system of Candrakīrti to that of his teacher Phyā-pa) preferred the schools of Jayānanda (an Indian paṇḍita who visited gSaṅ-phu and became known as Kha-čhe mkhan-po. He was the author of the Mādhyamakāvatāraṭīkā-nāma, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3870) and others to that of the ācārya Phyā-pa (who had been his Teacher). I have not seen the other books composed by Dan-bag-pa, except an "Abridgment of Logic" (Tshad-ma'i bsdus-pa) by him and a Commentary on the Anuttara-Tantra. Though he had composed many refutations of the ācārya Phyā-pa's theory about the endlessness of Time and the infinity of atoms, I was not attracted by them, and after reading them over, I could only say "O"! Bar-phu-ba: I had seen a commentary on the Mādhyamakamūla (i.e. Prajñāmūla) composed by him. Later he became the disciple of one named the kalyāṇa-mitra Gru-śul and of dPal Phag-mo gru-pa, and after that

became an ascetic follower of the Mahāmudrā. 'Jaṅ-ba sTon-skyabs composed many expositions of the "Domain of Practice" (sPyod-phyogs) and Abhidharma. Many holy men became his disciples. gÑal-žig meditated for nine years at U-śaṅ-rdo and taught (there). His disciples were known as the "Nine Sons of gÑal-žig" (gÑal-žig-gi bu dgu). bŽaṅ-riṅs, Phu-thaṅ Dar-dkon, gTsaṅ-pa Gru-gu—are known as the "First Group" (sṅa-tshar). U-yug-pa bSod-nams seṅ-ge, Bo-doṅ Rin-rtse and gTsaṅ-pa Jo-nam form the "Middle Group" (bar-tshar). rGya-'Čhiṅ-ru-ba, 'Jam-gsar and sKyel-nag Grags-seṅ form the "Last Group" (phyi-tshar). bZaṅ-riṅs taught at Khro-phu. Many learned men, including Lho-pa Grub-seṅ and others, appeared. Bu-ston Kha-čhe also belonged to this Spiritual Lineage.

Phu-thaṅ Dar-dkon: he taught at sTod-luṅs mtsho-smad and Yar-kluṅs, and had many disciples including gÑan Darma seṅ-ge, Bya-yul dkar-mo and others. gTsaṅ-pa Gru-gu established the Doctrine at Ža-lu. While the Ža-lu-pas were studying the commentary of gÑal-pa, Bu Rin-po-čhe (Bu-ston) arrived there. In order to conform with them, he obtained the permission (luṅ) of the gÑal-ṭīkā (a commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā) from the ācārya bKra-śis bzaṅ-po and taught it himself. U-yug-pa heard (the exposition) of the Pramāṇavārtika from the Sa-skya paṇ-čhen at Sa-skya. Thanks to his teaching, there appeared numerous disciples, including the great scholar Žaṅ mDo-sde-dpal and others. The spread of the Pramāṇavārtika up to the present time is due to the paṇ-čhen and him. In my younger days the inmates of gSaṅ-phu used to study the Pramānaviniścaya, but now-a-days they have changed over to the Pramāna-vārtika. Bo-doṅ Rin-rtse established a school at Brag-ram and there appeared many scholars, including the ācārya Dar-'od, dbU-ma-pa Śer-'bum, Bu-ston Grags-seṅ and others. 'Jam-dbyaṅs gsar-ma founded a school at sKyaṅ-'dur which had many monks. The one known as Kun-mkhyen Čhos-sku 'od-zer was one of his disciples also (Book VI, fol.

5a). In his later life he founded a philosophic school (bśad-sgra) and a meditative school (sgom-sgrwa). About that time, he proceeded to Ri-bo rtse-lṅa (Wu-t'ai-shan) and then returned to Tibet. He appears to have composed commentaries on the Prajñāpāramitā and on the Pramāṇa-viniścaya. His disciples asked him to explain the reason of a contradiction which existed between his previous and later interpretations (of the Doctrine), and he said that it was due to different methods of establishing equanimity in meditation. Later, he became a leading scholar among the students of the Kālacakra. Roṅ-pa rGwa-lo also became his disciple. 'Čhims-čhen-mo had confidentially advised sKyel-nag grags-seṅ to set up a monastic college at sNar-thaṅ, but the bKa'-gdams-pas objected to it and said that a fine should be imposed. Therefore sKyel-nag informed 'Čhims-čhen-mo that it was impossible to set up a college there. To this 'Chims replied confidentially: "I shall give you a large quantity of tea and you should hold there a tea-offering ceremony (maṅ-ja) in payment of the fine. At the third round of the tea-offering you will say that you were offering your fine (to the congregation), and that now you were to debate the matter and after saying so you should open the debate." On doing so, he was able to set up a college (at sNar-thaṅ). At that time many learned men appeared, including sKyi-ston Grags-'bum, Seṅ-ge-dpal of Čhu-mig and others. bČom-ldan Rigs-pa'i zal-gri, a native of Pu-thaṅ, became a monk in the monastery of (5a)
mChod-rten dkar-mo of bSam-yas (Rigs-pa'i zal-gri was an opponent of the Kālacakra system which he considered to be a non-buddhist system. Another famous opponent was Red-mda'-pa.). When he was studying the Prajñā-pāramitā under dbYar Ñi-ma brtson-'grus at dGa'-ba-gdoṅ, signs of leprosy appeared on his body. He went for treatment to sKyo-ston-pa of sNar-thaṅ. This sKyo-ston-pa used to propitiate Vajrapāṇi for eleven years without seeing the sun. When bČom-ral placed his foot on the threshold

of the gate of sNar-thaṅ, the sun shone on his head and at the same moment resounded the conch of the sNar-thaṅ congregation, and he understood these sings to be auspicious. sKyo-ston-pa said: "In this disease of yours, you should avoid anxiety. Recite the Pramāṇaviniścaya in the ravine over there." He then recited a thousand times the Pramāṇaviniścaya in a ravine situated in the valley of sNar-thaṅ and leprosy left him. After that he took up residence at the school of sNar-thaṅ and continued his studies. He recited the mantra of Acala 13,000,000,000 times and the dawn of wisdom rose in him. The four-headed Religious Protector attended on him and he taught (the Doctrine). He had many learned disciples. Two thirds of the Tripiṭakadharas of that time are known to have gathered at sNar-thaṅ. The mahā-paṇḍita 'Jam-dbyaṅs ('Jam-pa'i dbyaṅs) has also been his disciple. Once at the end of a class (evening) he disguised himself as a devil and frightened the teacher (this is a famous story throughout Tibet. 'Jam-dbyaṅs, once put a mask of a Religious Protector and appeared before Rig-ral in the moon-light. Having frightened him, he chased him round the monastery) who scolded him and refused permission for him to remain in his presence. He therefore took up residence at Sa-skya. After receiving an invitation from the Mongols, he became the court chaplain (mčhod-gnas) of Buyantu-qan (1311-1320 A.D.). There he wrote a short commentary on the Pramāṇaviniścaya, and sent numerous presents to bČom-ldan-pa by an Imperial Messenger, but the Teacher did not express pleasure. At last he succeeded in pleasing his Teacher by sending him a box filled with China ink. bČom-ldan-pa also composed about sixteen volumes of śāstras (the complete collection of his works does not exist in print. Some of his works in manuscript form are found at sNar-thaṅ). The mahā-paṇḍita, known by the name of dbUs-pa bLo-gsal, has been the disciple of both bČom-ral and bTsun-pa 'Jam-dbyaṅs. bČom-ral examined the

colophons and (verified) the number of verses in the chapters of the Words of the Sugata (i.e. bKa'-'gyur). He also composed a treatise called bsTan-pa rgyas-pa in which he classified the treatises into sections (this refers to his edition of the bsTan-'gyur). Later the Venerable 'Jam-dbyaṅs made many presents to dbUs-pa bLo-gsal and others. He also sent (5b)
a message with the request to copy the whole of the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur and to keep the books at the vihāra of sNar-thaṅ. Accordingly, dbUs-pa bLo-gsal Byaṅ-čhub ye-śes, the lo-tsā-ba bSod-nams 'od-zer and rGyaṅ-ro Byaṅ-čhub-'bum, after taking great pains in finding the original copies of the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur, had them properly copied and placed the entire collection in the 'Jam Lha-khaṅ (at sNar-thaṅ). From it a number of copies were prepared for other monastic establishments, such as Grom-pa Sa-skya, Khab Guṅ-thaṅ of Upper Tibet and other monasteries. Three copies were prepared at 'Tshal Guṅ-thaṅ in the lower country. Three copies were prepared at sTag-luṅ and its neighbourhood. Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe brought the (original) copy of the bsTan-'gyur from sNar-than and excluded from it all duplicate texts, for the original sNar-thaṅ copy contained all the texts available at that time. He classified the texts which had remained unclassified, as well as added about a thousand new texts. This (new) copy (of the collection) was deposited at the vihāra of Ža-lu. From this copy the ācārya Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan prepared a new copy at the fort of Rin-spuṅs and deposited it at the monastic college of rTses-thaṅ. From this copy (new copies were prepared) and deposited at Goṅ-dkar and gDan-sa-Thel. Hereafter, Khams-pas having copied each of them separately, took them to Khams. These served as originals for (other) copies prepared in Khams. A copy was prepared by the Dharmasvāmin mThoṅ-ba Dun-ldan-pa. In dbUs, a copy (of the Collection) was prepared by Dun-ben Śa-ba. At 'Tshur-phu, the Dharmasvāmin Raṅ-byuṅ-ba prepared a copy written with the dust of precious stones. At Byams-pa-gliṅ, a copy was prepared

by Yar-rgyab dPon-čhen (the great official of Yar-rgyab) dGe-bsñen-pa. gŽi Kun-spaṅs-pa prepared a copy of about 180 volumes. Up to the time of the erection of the beautiful vihāra by sTag-rtse-ba, and the copying of numerous texts which had been discovered and were not included in the former collections of the bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur, (6a) numberless copies (of the two collections) were prepared. This work was due to the energy of the bhadanta (btsun-pa) 'Jam-pa'i dbyaṅs, a disciple of bČom-ldan Rig-pa'i ral-gri, whose work was due to the grace of rṄog lo-tsā-ba, whose work was due to the grace of the Kashmirian paṇḍitas and ultimately to the grace of the Buddhas. Now-a-days the scholar Śes-rab seṅ-ge and his disciple the great scholar dGe-'dun-grub built the vihāra of bKra-śis lhun-po and erected a large image there. Numerous congregations (of monks) having gathered, the teaching and study (of the Doctrine) spread widely. They became known by the name of Ri-bo dGe-ldan. In truth, both of them, Teacher and disciple, had been the true scholars of sNar-thaṅ. The son of Byaṅ-čhub rin-čhen, the Great of rTses-thaṅ, became known by the name of Saṅs-rgyas-dpal, 'son of gYag' (gYag-phrug, gYag-phrug Saṅs-rgyas-dpal and Red-mda'-pa were the last two famous scholars of Sa-skya, often mentioned in the texts as gYag-gžon-gñis/Red-mda'-pa's name was gŽon-nu blo-gros/), because he had been entrusted to the care of an attendant named gYag-yu. His original college was gSaṅ-phu. There he studied the Bu-ṭīkā (the commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā by Bu-ston) and there was no one equal to him in the mastery by heart of the Doctrine and śāstras (of India). He took charge of Sa-skya dGa'-ldan and taught the Doctrine throughout the entire dbUs and gTsaṅ, and widely spread the doctrine of the Prajñāpāramitā. He also wrote many medium and detailed commentaries on the Prajñāpāramitā. He also taught the Pramāṇavārtika, the Mādhyamaka and other systems. In the end, after the cremation of his remains, several relics

were left behind. His spirtual son was Roṅ-ston smra-ba'i seṅ-ge čhen-mo (Roṅ-ston, the Great, "the Lion of Speech"). In his youth, he came from rGyal-mo-roṅ (Tsha-roṅ) to gSaṅ-phu Ne'u-thog. Through his excellent diligence and good fortune, he became a kalyāṇa-mitra at the age of 20 and was able to compose commentaries on the great treatises (śāstras). He preached the Doctrine in the Upper and Lower districts, between dbUs and Las-stod. Through his teaching activity he gathered many learned disciples and composed a commentary on the Sphuṭārtha ('Grel-pa Don-gsal by Haribhadra). In the domain of the Mādhyamaka, he wrote an extensive commentary on the Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā and in this way laboured extensively for the sake of the Doctrine. He was the chief among those who benefitted (6b) (people) through teaching throughout the later period. His disciple, the great Preacher of the Doctrine (čhos-smra-ba, dharma-bhāṇaka) Saṅs-rgyas-'phel, supported by Rin-spuṅs-pa, maintained a monastic college at 'Bras-yul and opened the eyes of many wise men, expounding the Doctrine. Further, the gŽis-kha Rin-spuṅs-pa built a large monastery at Byams-čhen. The Bodhisattva rGyal-ba-mčhog taught there for several years and established there the teaching of the mahā-upādhyāya Saṅs-rgyas-dpal. After him the chair was occupied by his reincarnation who erected a large image of Maitreya adorned with precious stones. After his death, the abbot's chair was occupied by the great religious teacher Saṅs-rgyas-dpal who is at present revolving the Wheel of the Law. Further, the Venerable Red-mda'-pa studied thoroughly the Prajñāpāramitā, following on the mahā-paṇḍita Ña-dpon Kun-dga'. Later, on request from his disciples, he wrote a ṭīkā on the Sphuṭārtha. The Venerable Tsoṅ-kha-pa also heard it from the Venerable Red-mda'-pa. Later, before he had become an itinerant monk, he wrote an extensive commentary on it, called Legs-bśad gser-phreṅ (volumes XVII-XVIII of the rJe rin-po-čhe'i gSuṅ-'bum, or "Collection of Works"). Soon

after that he went into seclusion, and because of it the number of students of this book did not increase. Later, the Regent Dar-ma Rin-čhen composed a commentary on the Sphuṭārtha which is widely known now-a-days and is of great benefit to others. The disciple of gÑal-žig rGya-čhin Ru-ba founded bDe-ba-čan (dbUs). After him, his nephew Saṅs-rgyas-dpal and others taught there. After that gÑags Grags-tshul, rGya-ston bSod-rin, dGe-brag-pa, sÑe-thaṅ-pa bKra-śis seṅ-ge, slob-dpon bLo-rin, the ācārya bKra-śis seṅ-ge, Saṅ-grags, dGra-goṅ-ba Dar-ma seṅ-ge, Tshul-rgyan-pa, dbU-rgyan-pa and others succeeded him. They are the "Branches" (lag) of the Upper Monastery (gliṅ, i.e. gSaṅ-phu). The ācārya Śāk-gžon received assistance from Tshal-pa sMon-lam-pa and others, and founded a monastic college at 'Tshal Guṅ-thaṅ (near Lha-sa). The ācārya Śāk-gžon having gone to the monastery of (7a)
Ne'u-thog, the acarya Don-grub-dpal was appointed abbot of Chos-'khor-glin. He was succeeded by bLo-bzaṅs, bSod-nams-dpal, Byams-pa and Kun-bzans-pa This is the "Branch" of the "Lower" Monastery (gLin smad-pa). Above I have given only a brief account. The custom of preaching texts in small monasteries and other monastic schools originated with rṄog lo-tsā-ba. Such is the brief account of the (different) stages in the activity of the great Bodhisattva of rṄog. Chapter on rṄog lo-tsā-ba, and his Lineage. The story of the origin of the teaching of the Mahāyāna-Mādhyamaka: The story of the exposition of the fundamental texts (of the system), in particular of that of the Prajñāpradīpamūlamādhyamakavṛtti (Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3853), by the great Lo-tsā-ba bLo-ldan śes-rab and his disciples has been given above. (Now the story of) the origin of the exposition of the basic texts (of the system) by the ācārya Candrakīrti according to sPa-tshab lo-tsā-ba Ñi-ma-grags. sPa-tshab Ñi-ma-grags was a native of the upper district of Upper and Lower sPa-tshab in 'Phan-yul. In his youth, he proceeded to Kāśmīra, and heard the Doctrine from many

paṇḍitas who included Sañjana's two sons and others. After studying for 23 years, he returned to Tibet, and the monks of sPu-hrans-pa presented him with a large turquoise called "Phag-sgur" and requested him to translate the Commentary on the Abhidharma composed by Pūrṇavardhana (Gaṅ-ba spel, this is the Abhidharmaṭīkālakṣaṇānusāriṇī-nāma, Tg. mÑon-pa, No. 4093). He prepared an excellent translation of it. When he came to 'Phan-yul, he did not have a large following and the kalyāṇa-mitra Śar-ba-pa sent to him many of his own disciples to study the Mādhyamaka system. Having established the teaching of the Mādhyamaka, he gathered numerous monks and prepared excellent translations of the Commentaries by the ācārya Candra(kīrti) on the Mūlamādhyamaka-kārikās (Mūlamādhyamakavṛtti-Prasannapadā-nāma, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3860), the Mādhyamakāvatāra (Mādhyamakāvatārabhāṣya-nāma, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3862) and the Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā (Rigs-pa drug-bču-pa, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3825; Yukti-ṣaṣṭikavṛtti, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3864). Later at Ra-mo-čhe assisted by the paṇḍita Kanakavarman he compared them with texts from Magadha. The great Commentary composed by the ācārya Candra (kīrti) on the sToṅ-ñid bdun-ču-pa (Śūnyatā-saptati, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3827, Candrakīrti composed the Śūnyatā-saptati-vṛtti, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3867) has been translated by Abhaya (Abhayākara) and sNur Dharma-grags (the original manuscript of Dharma-grags is still preserved at the Žwa-lu monastery in gTsaṅ. Verbal communication by the Rev. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel). sPa-tshab with the paṇḍita Mudita revised more than 300 ślokas (two bam-pos) of the first part of this Commentary. He stated about the great Commentary on the Guhyasamāja (gSaṅ-ba 'dus-pa'i rgya-čher 'grel-pa)—the Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā (sGron-ma gsal-bar-byed-pa žes-bya-ba'i rgya-čher bśad-pa, Tg. rGyud, No. 1785): "Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po who was famous as an excellent translator, had boasted that he had made a translation of it, had revised it and had edited it. Having discovered that the translation was not properly done, I, Ñi-ma

grags-pa, have retranslated it." He prepared an excellent revision (of the translation), as well as translated many sections of the (Guhya)samāja and taught it. Among his disciples—gTsaṅ-pa Sar-sbos, rMa-bya Byaṅ-čhub ye-śes, Ṅar Yon-tan grags and Žaṅ Thaṅ-sag-pa Ye-śes 'byuṅ-gnas were known as the "Four Sons of sPa-tshab" (sPa-tshab bu-bži). Due to them the teaching of the Mādhyamaka system spread throughout dbUs and gTsaṅ. In particular, rMa-bya Byaṅ-brtson, one of the "Great Lions" of the ācārya Phyā-pa, heard the (exposition) of the Mādhyamaka system and the Guhyasamāja from sPa-tshab. Having transferred his monastery (čhos-gži) to Upper and Lower Yar-kluṅs, he taught there for a considerable time the Mādhyamaka system. He had many disciples including bTsan-than-pa rGyal-ba-dpal and others. He disseminated widely the system of Mādhyamaka. rMa-bya Byaṅ-brtson was a disciple of Khu lo-tsā-ba mDo-sde-'bar and Kha-čhe Jayānanda. He composed a commentary on the Tarkamudgara-kārikā written by Jayānanda (rTog-ge-tho-ba, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3869). I have also seen a commentary on the Prajñāmūla (rTsa-ba śes-rab, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3824), a commentary on the Summary of the Prasannapadā, notes and an abridged summary of the Commentary on the Mādhyamakāvatāra, as well as an Abridgment of the Mādhyamaka system (composed by him). He seems also to have composed many text-books on the Mādhyamaka system.

Žaṅ Thaṅ-sag-pa: He founded Thaṅ-sag (in 'Phan-yul) and taught extensively the Mādhyamaka system. I have seen a Commentary on the Mādhyamakāvatāra, a Commentary on the Yukti-ṣaṣṭikā by Nāgārjuna, a Commentary on the Catuh-śataka (bŽi-brgya-ba, Catuḥ-śatakaśāstrakārikānāma, Tg. dbU-ma, No. 3846) and a Commentary on the Ratnāvalī by Nāgārjuna (Rin-čhen phreṅ-ba, Tg. sPriṅ-yig, No. 4158) composed by him. He seems to have also composed other texts besides the above mentioned, Due to him, the Teaching of the

Mādhyamaka system continued uninterruptedly up to the present time at Thaṅ-sag.

Many excellent kalyāṇa-mitras from dbUs and gTsaṅ attended (classes there). This monastery was of great benefit for the Mādhyamaka system.

Žaṅ Thaṅ-sag-pa was followed by 'Brom-ston, dBaṅ-phyug grags-pa, the ācārya Śes-rab rdo-rje, the two brothers—the ācārya Don-tshul and Grags-ldan, Lu-dpon Su-kha-de-va (Sukhadeva), the ācārya Darma-śes-rab, Baṅ-ston Śes-rab rin-čhen, the Venerable Preceptor bSod-nams seṅ-ge, Phag-ston bSam-gtan bzaṅ-po, the ācārya Thaṅ-sag-pa, the ācārya bKra-śis seṅ-ge, rTa-pa gŽon-nu bzaṅ-po, the ācārya Chos-grags of gSos-khaṅ, Thaṅ-sag-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan rTse-pa Kun-dga'. gžon-nu, the ācārya Śākya gžon-nu, the ascetic (kun-spaṅs) gŽon-nu rgyal-mtshan, dMar-ston gŽon-nu rgyal-mtshan, the ācārya Tshul-khrims dpal-pa, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, the ācārya Rin-čhen rgya-mtsho and the abbot bLo-gros dpal-rin-pa. Up to the time of the last mentioned, they all taught the (Mādhyamaka) system, basing themselves on the two texts—the Prasannapadā (Tg.dbU-ma, No.3860) and the Great Commentary on the Mādhyamakāvatāra (by Candrakīrti, Tg dbU-ma, No. 3862). When the Thaṅ-sag-pas describe their Lineage in India, they mention the following: Munindra (Thub-pa'i dbaṅ-po), the upādhyāya (mkhan-po) Rāhulabhadra (sGra-gčan-zin), Nāgārjuna (kLu-grub). Candrakīrti (Zla-ba grags-pa), Mañjukīrti, Devacandra, the brāhmaṇa Ratnavajra (Rin-čhen rdo-rje), Parāhita, Hasumati and sPa-tshab lo-tsā-ba. (8a)

The Chapter on sPa-tshab and his Spiritual Lineage.

The continuity of teaching of the Abhidharmasamuccaya (mNon-pa kun-btus by Ārya Asaṅga, Tg. Sems-tsam, No.4049) in the "Abode of Snows" (Tibet): The Buddha, Maitreya (Byams-pa), Asaṅga (Thogs-med), Vasubandhu (dbYig-gñen), Sthiramati (bLo-brtan), Pūrṇavardhana (Gaṅ-spel), the Kashmirian Jinamitra, Ka-ba dPal-brtsegs, Cog-

to kLu'i rgyal-mtshan, Žaṅ Ye-śes-sde. The latter taught the system to Lha-luṅ dPal-gyi rdo-rje, Nam-naṅ Zla-ba'i rdo-rje, dBas rGyal-ba Ye-śes. The first two obtained realization as a result of their meditations. dBas, because of a popular revolt in dbUs, had to leave for Khams. The following have been his disciples: Grub rGyal-ba'i ye-śes, Gru-mčhog-gi ye-śes, Se-btsun, Gar-mi Yon-tan gyuṅ-druṅ, Khu-ston brTson-'grus gyuṅ-druṅ, Rwa Khri-bzaṅ-'bar, rGya Tshul-le and Li-bdud rTsi-grags. Braṅ-ti Dar-ma sñiṅ-po heard the Doctrine from Rwa Khri-bzaṅ. Braṅ-ti had numerous disciples. When the great lo-tsā-ba of rÑog visited paṇḍita 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa (Sthirapāla) accompanied by three hundred monks, Braṅ-ti is said to have ordered that each of the lo-tsā-ba's monks should be honoured by thirteen of his own disciples. Ko-bo Ye-śes 'byuṅ-gnas (heard the text) (8*b*)
from Braṅ-ti, and taught it to Rog Čhos-kyi brtson-'grus. Thanks to him the study of the Abidharmasamuccaya spread widely throughout the Upper and Lower Yar-kluṅs. His disciple Yar rGyal-ba'i śes-rab composed an extensive Commentary on the (Abhidharma)-samuccaya. Te-luṅ Se-'bar, Bya-sder-ba, Bye-skyid-pa, sByin-pa seṅ-ge, sKyi-ston Grags-'bum and bČom-ldan Ral-gri heard it from Rog. The All-knowing Čhos-sku 'od-zer (heard it) from Bye-skyid-pa. Further, brTson-seṅ of 'Čhims, rGyaṅ-ro Dar-ma mgon, mČhims brTson-rgyal, Śoṅ bLo-brtan, lo-tsā-ba mČhog-ldan, dPaṅ lo-tsā-ba, Byaṅ-rtse, Ña-dbon-po, Kun-dga'-dpal, Čhos-dpal mgon-po, the Mahātman bLo-gros rgya-mtsho, Ko-bo Ye-śes 'byuṅ-gnas, 'Ban, Tho-gar gNam-sde, bZaṅ-pa Byaṅ-skyabs, 'Jaṅ-pa gŽon-byaṅ, 'Briṅ mČhams-žaṅ, Bo-doṅ Rin-rtse, Khro-phu Rin-po-čhe bSod-nams seṅ-ge, Tshad-ma'i skyes-bu, Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe, the mahāpaṇḍita Dharmaśrī (heard the text from) Braṅ-ti, and Dharmaśrī preached it to numerous Tripiṭakadharas in dbUs. The teachers of the Lineage, who preceded Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe, have composed numerous commentaries (on the text). Most of the Piṭakadharas residing at Bo-doṅ, the seat

of 'Bum-phrag gsum-pa (Sthirapāla), became learned in this text.

Though I did not succeed in finding the history of the Lineage of the Abbots of Bo-doṅ, there cannot be any doubt that this monastery had many learned men with an extensive knowledge of the Scriptures, Logic, Abhidharma, Vinaya, Sanskrit Grammar, Prosody, etc. This monastery has been a remarkable place! During the early period of the propagation of the Doctrine, the Adhidharmakośa was translated together with numerous explanatory commentaries. The exposition of the text (of the Abhidharmakośa) is known to have originated with the Paṇḍita Smṛti. Though the text (of the Abhidharmakośa) had a wide circulation throughout dbUs and gTsaṅ, the History of its Lineage has not been preserved.

The Chapter on the Lineage of the Abhidharma.

The Muni (Thub-pa, Śākyamuni), Dharmatrāta (dGra-bčom Čhos-skyobs), Paṇ-čhen Me-waṅ-ga, Vasubandhu (dbYig-gñen), Diṅnāga (Phyogs-glaṅ), Īśvarasena (dBaṅ-phyug-sde), Dharmakīrti (Čhos-grags), Devendrabodhi (Lha-dbaṅ blo), Śākyabodhi (Śākya blo), Vinītadeva ('Dul-ba-lha), (9a)
Dharmakīrti (Čhos-grags), Prajñākaragupta (Śer-'byuṅ), Ravigupta (Ñi-ma sbas-pa), Yamari, Jñānaśrīmitra, Dharmottara (Čhos-kyi mčhog), Ānanda (Śaṅkarānanda), Wam-ku paṇḍita, Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen Śākyaśrī, Sa-paṇ (Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan), U-yug-pa, Žaṅ-btsun mDo-sde dpal, 'Jam-dbyaṅs Sa-skya-pa, dPal-ldan-pa, 'Jam-dbyaṅs sTon-gžon, Nor-bzaṅs-dpal, Grags-rin-pa 'Jam-sṅon-pa, Čhos-seṅ-ba (Čhos-kyi seṅ-ge), rNo-thog-pa Čhos-kyi bzaṅ-po, mKhan-čhen rin-po čhe rGyal-mtshan bzaṅ-po. Further, from Čhos-seṅ-ba: bSam-grup ye-śes of rGyal lha-khaṅ (in 'Phan-yul); then the teacher bSam-grub bzaṅ-po-ba. Other followers of the Pramāṇavārtika (Tshad-ma rnam-'grel) make no mention of them, but the mKhan-čhen rin-po-čhe rGyal-mtshan bzaṅ-po has stated that after a thorough examination (of the sources), he had discover-

ed them (i.e. the above listed teachers). This is the Lineage of the Pramāṇavārtika.

The "Five Treatises of the Blessed Maitreya":

Though the great lo-tsā-ba bLo-ldan śes-rab and bTsan Kha-bo-čhe have heard (their exposition) from the same Sañjana (The text has Sajja-na/ Ch. VI. fol. 9b/), their methods of exposition of the basic texts show certain differences.

Namely: According to the History of the school of bTsan (bTsan-lugs), the Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra (Theg-pa čhen-po rgyud bla-ma'i bstan-bčos, Tg. Sems-tsam, No.4024) and the Dharmadharmatāvibhaṅgakārikā (Čhos daṅ čhos-ñid rnam-par 'byed-pa'i tshig le'ur byas-pa, Tg. Sems-tsam, No. 4023) remained unknown to scholars. The Venerable Maitrī-pa saw once a shining light coming out from a crack in a stūpa, and having investigated it, discovered the two books (from inside the stūpa). He then offered prayers to the Venerable Ajita (Ma-pham, i. e. Maitreya) who appeared before him surrounded by clouds, and expounded the books to him. Maitrī-pa then preached the two books to Ānandakīrti. Disguised as a beggar this latter journeyed to Kāśmīra. Sañjana discovered that Ānandakīrti was a remarkable man, paid him homage and obtained from him the two books. He then prepared several copies of the books and offered them to the paṇḍita Jñānaśrī and others. bTsan Kha-bo-čhe has been a disciple of Grwa-pa mṄon-śes (here mkhan-bu means a disciple ordained by Grwa-pa mṄon-śes). Before going to Kāśmīra, he requested his upādhyāya (Grwa-pa mṄon-śes) to perform an offering ceremony. The upādhyāya said to him: "Till your return from Kāśmīra, I shall be responsible for your safety, and you will never get even a toothache!" bTsan Kha-bo-čhe was born in the Iron-Female-Hen year (lčags-mo-bya—1021 A.D.). At the age of 56 he proceeded to Kāśmīra, and said to Sañjana: "Now I have grown old! I cannot master many books. I wish to make the Doctrine of the Blessed Maitreya my death prayer ('čhi-čhos-byed-pa, (9b)

to recite a religious text at death time). Pray instruct me in it!"

Sañjana entrusted him to the lo-tsā-ba gZu dGa'-ba'i rdo-rje who is said to have instructed (gdams-pa) bTsan Kha-bo-čhe. In those days there existed a text-book on the Uttaratantra commented upon by gZu. A translator named Pad-ma seṅ-ge explained it in conformity with the Commentary by bTsan. There appears also to have existed an extensive commentary on the Sūtrālaṃkāra (Mahāyānasūtra-alaṃkārakārikā, Theg-pa čhen-po mDo-sde'i rgyan žes-bya-ba'i tshig le'ur byas-pa, Tg. Sems-tsam, No.4020) which was written down by Pad-ma seṅ-ge at the time of his meeting with Sañjana. bTsan returned to Tibet before rÑog lo-tsā-ba. At various places he preached the Doctrine of Maitreya to kalyāṇa-mitras, who were in search of it, and great benefit arose. bTsan took up residence at Brag-rgya of Yar-stod, and taught the Doctrine (of Maitreya) to a kalyāṇa-mitra known by the name of lČaṅ-ra-ba. This latter preached the Doctrine to Dar-ma brtson-'grus of mDo-sde-sbug of Phyogs who composed an extensive commentary on the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra (mDo-sde rgyan). Copies of this book are found frequently. There exists also a commentary on the Uttaratantra, in which the name of the author is not mentioned, but which was (commonly) regarded to be a commentary belonging to the school of bTsan (Kha-bo-čhe), and in which precepts on practice (man-ṅag ñams-len) are added to the text of the exposition (i. e. the exposition of the text is made from the standpoint of meditative practice). There also exist several short treatises, such as the Ye-śes-kyi bžag-sa ("Repository of Wisdom") and others containing precepts of the school of bTsan.

I have not heard (people) saying that "this method was preserved by this kalyāṇa-mitra". Many learned men who had belonged to the spiritual lineage of rÑog lo-tsā-ba, had also composed commentaries on (the Uttaratantra). Now, though the great lo-tsā-ba and the teacher gTsaṅ-nag-pa have

maintained that the so-called Tathāgatagarbha or the Essence of Buddhahood represented the Paramārtha-satya (Transcendental Truth), they asserted that the Paramārtha-satya could not be the object of even an approximate judgment (žen-pa, adhyavasāya), to say nothing of it being a direct object of perception (determined by words and thought-construction, vikalpa In Tibetan philosophic literature, apart of Logic, žen-pa means approximation, approximative judgment). On the other hand the ācārya Phyā-pa asserted that the absolute negation (med-par dgag-pa) of the reality of external objects represented the paramārtha-satya which, according to him, was the object of an approximate judgment determined by words and thought-constructions. According to the followers of the school of bTsan: the pure nature of the Mind was the Essence of the Sugata, and therefore it was stated to be (10a) the fertile seed of Buddhahood. The Venerable Red-mda'-pa believed at first the Uttaratantra to be a Vijñānamātra work, and even composed a commentary from the standpoint of the followers of the Vijñānamātra school. Later, when he became a hermit, he used to sing: "It is impossible to differentiate between the presence and absence of this our Mind. The Buddha having perceived that it penetrated all living beings, as in the example of a subterranean treasure, or the womb of a pregnant woman, had proclaimed all living beings to be possessed of the Essence of the Sugata." In general, it seems to be true that the Venerable Maitrī-pa had rediscovered these two basic texts of the Maitreya Doctrine, for the Abhisamayālaṃkāra-āloka and other works contain numerous quotations from the Madhyāntavibhaṅga and the Sūtrālaṃkāra, but do not contain any quotations from these two later śāstras. The Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen was also said to have imparted precepts of the "Five Treatises of Maitreya" on the Srin-po-ri. Now-a-days they are not extant. Though many had reproached the All-knowing Jo-mo nañ-pa for having erroneously admitted the Tathāgatagarbha

to represent a material truth, numerous persons in dbUs and gTsaṅ who had studied assiduously the Uttaratantra, appear to have been instructed by him. The Uttaratantra and its commentary were first translated by the Master (Atīśa) and Nag-tsho. Then by rṄog, sPa-tshab lo-tsā-ba and the Yar-kluṅs lo-tsā-ba. J̌o-naṅ lo-tsā-ba made a translation of the basic text only. It is also stated that Mar-pa D̃o-pa had translated all the "Five Treatises" of Maitreya (Mar-pa Do-pa Ĉhos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug of Ya-'brog). The Chapter on the bTsan school of the Doctrine of Maitreya.

BOOK VII

THE PREACHING OF THE TANTRAS.

Now the manner in which the Tantras were preached is to be related. In regard to the Kriyā-Tantra (Bya-ba'i rgyud) and the Caryā-Tantra (spyod-pa'i rgyud), the exposition of the ācārya Buddhaguhya (slob-dpon Saṅs-rgyas gsaṅ-ba) was pre-eminent throughout the Period of the Early Spread of the Doctrine. Translators, basing themselves on the expositions of other paṇḍitas, and having mastered the teaching of the ācārya Buddhaguhya, translated the Ārya-Subāhuparipṛcchā-nāma-tantra (dPuṅ-bzaṅs, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 805), Sarvamaṇḍalasāmānyavidhīnām guhyatantra (gSaṅ-ba spyi-rgyud, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 806), the Dhyānottara-paṭalakrama (bSam-gtan phyi-ma, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 808) and other texts, as well as a brief commentary on the Vairocanābhisambodhi-Tantra (rNam-par snaṅ-mdzad mṄon-par Byaṅ-čhub-pa'i rgyud, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 494) of the ācārya Buddhaguhya which belongs to the Caryā-Tantra class. A commentary on the Ārya-Vajrapāṇyābhiṣeka-mahātantra (Phyag-na rdo-rje dbaṅ-bskur-ba'i rgyud, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 496) had also been translated. Though there appeared to exist formerly a continuity in the preaching and study (bšad-pa and ñan-pa) of these texts, since the Period of the Later Spread of the Doctrine, the continuity of preaching does not appear to have been great. During the Period of the Later Spread of the Doctrine there has been a great increase in the preaching of both the "Outer" Yoga-Tantra and "Inner" Yoga-Tantra (Phyi-naṅ, i. e. the Yoga and the Anuttara-yoga-Tantras). Namely, the puruṣottama (skyes-bu'i mčhog) the great Translator known as Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po, who had, in general, mastered and expounded all the basic texts of the Prajñāpāramitā and Tantra classes, has

especially expounded the Yoga-Tantras. Its story: This Great Translator on three occasions journeyed to Kāśmīra, and there attended on many teachers. He also invited many paṇḍitas to Tibet and properly established the custom of preaching (the Yoga Tantras). He translated the Tattvāloka (Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha-mahāyānābhisamaya--nāma-Tantra-Tattvālokakarī-nāma-vyākhyā, Tg. 2510), a commentary composed by the ācārya Ānandagarbha (Kun-sñiṅ) on the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra (De-ñid bsdus-pa'i rgyud, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 379), an incomplete commentary on the dPal-mčhog-rgyud (Śrī-Paramādya-nāma-mahāyānakalparāja, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 487) by the ācārya Ānandagarbha, the Rite and Ceremony of rDo-rJe 'byuṅ-ba, composed by Ānandagarbha(Tg. rGyud, No. 2516), the Māyājāla-mahātantrarāja (sGyu-'phrul dra-ba'i rgyud, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 466) together with an exposition of the text by the ācārya Ānandagarbha (Māyājāla-mahātantrarājaṭīkā-ākhyā, Tg. rGyud, No. 2513) the Sarvarahasya-nāma-tantrarāja (Thams-čad-gsaṅ-ba'i rgyud. Kg./rGyud-'bum, No. 481/) together with a commentary by the ācārya Śānti-pa (Śrī-Sarvarahasyaṃbandharahasyapradīpa-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 2623) and numerous short texts connected with the above. He (Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po) performed these (Tantric) rites and maintained (the Doctrine), and had many disciples from mNa'-ris, dbUs and gTsaṅ. Among them the Junior Translator (lo-čhuṅ) Legs-pa'i śes-rab, Gur-śiṅ brTson-'grus rgyal-mtshan of Maṅ-naṅ, gŽon-nu śes-rab of Gra and sKyi-nor Jñāna—these four were known as his "Four Spiritual Sons" (thugs-sras).

Further, An-ston Grags-rin of sPu-hraṅs, rGya Ye-tshul, Guṅ-pa Ye-śes and dKon-mčhog-brtsegs of Mar-yul, these four have been the disciples of both the Great Translator (lo-čhen, i. e. Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po) and the Junior Translator (Lo-čhuṅ, i. e. Legs-pa'i śes-rab). Moreover, rKyaṅ-pa Čhos-blo of rGyaṅ-ro sPe'u-dmar in Upper Myaṅ attended on the Great Translator. Soon after the arrival of the

Great Translator from Kāśmīra, he heard (from him) the rite of initiation into the rDo-rJe 'byuṅ-ba (Vajradhātumahāmaṇḍalavidhisarvavajrodaya-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 2516), according to the Śraddha (Śraddhākaravarman) Lineage and the Ko-sa-la'i rgyan (Kosalālaṃkāratattvasaṃgrahaṭīkā, Tg. rGyud, No.2503). He also listened in company with Śab-rtse rGya-gar to the exposition of the Śrī-Paramādya-nāma-mahāyānakalparāja, accompanied by an incomplete commentary (Śrī-Paramādyavivaraṇa, Tg. rGyud, No.2511) and the initiation rite. He also listened attentively (to the exposition) of the Guhyasamāja (Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittarahasyaguhyasamāja-nāma-mahākalparāja, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No.442) according to the system of Jñānapāda (the ācārya Saṅs-rgyud ye-śes, Ye-śes žabs). He studied the ceremonies (lag-len) under Dol-po sGom-čhen. The exposition of the text he chiefly obtained from the Junior Translator (lo-čhuṅ, i.e. rṄog Legs-pa'i śes-rab). After Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po's return from his second journey to Kāśmīra, rKyaṅ-pa Chos-blo obtained the Śrī-Paramādya-nāma-mahāyānakalparāja from him after the whole text had been translated, as well as all that had remained unfinshed from his previous studies. After that Sum-ston Ye-'bar attended on the Great Translator (Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po) for seven years and received from him a commentary on the first half of the Tattvāloka (Tg. rGyud, No. 1293), a commentary on the first half of the Śrī-Paramādya-Tantra, an incomplete text of the Śrī-Paramādya-Tantra itself, the rDo-rJe 'byuṅ-ba, the Initiation rite according to the method of the two commentaries and the Initiation rites of dPal-mčhog rdor-sems and dPal-mčhog rigs-bsdus (n. of a maṇḍala). From the Great Translator he recived initiations only, and conducted most of his studies under the Junior Translator (rṄog Legs-pa'i śes-rab). Then lCe-žar of Upper Myaṅ became (24) a disciple of the Great Translator, but mostly studied under the Junior Translator for seven year, and mastered the Yoga-Tantras in general, and in particular the Śrī-

Paramādya-Tantra (dPal-mčhog). After that gŽon-nu rgya-mtsho, father of sPaṅ-kha Dar-čhuṅ, Brag-steṅs-pa of Las-stod, dMar-ston Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan of Kul-'čhiṅ-ru, kLe-ston of lDog, Śākya-rdo-rje of Bal, Koṅ-kha-pa, scholar of Thaṅ (Thaṅ-ston) and lDog Goṅ-kha-pa had a brief interview with the Great Translator, but studied chiefly under the Junior Translator. rṄog Se-ser, Srad Ye-gžon of Śaṅs came to see the Great Translator, but did not see him, and instead attended on the Junior Translator. rṄog Ge-ser-ba mastered the great commentary on the Nāmasaṅgīti (Tg. rGyud, No. 2533). After the death of the Great Translator, Pho-braṅ Ži-ba-'od who was learned in the work of a translator, made numerous translations, and having invited many translators and paṇḍitas, he filled in the incomplete portions of the Śrī-Paramādya-Tantra (dPal-mčhog).

Zaṅs-dkar 'Phags-pa śes-rab did not find the Great Translator alive, and instead studied under the Junior Translator and the latter's assistant preacher An-ston Grags-rin, as well as attended classes on the Initiation rite and exposition of the Tattva-saṃgraha (Sarvatathāgata-Tattvasaṃgraha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 479), the Śrī-Paramādya-Tantra (dPal-mčhog) and the Larger and Lesser recensions of the sByoṅ-rgyud (sByoṅ-rgyud ma-bu, Kg. rGyud-'bum, Nos. 483 and 485). Later, when the paṇḍita Kumārakalaśa (gŽon-nu bum-pa) came by invitation to dbUs, he expounded the Vajraśekharatantra (Vajraśekhara-mahāguhyayogatantra, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 480) to Mar-pa rDor-yes of sMon-gro, Khams-pa rGwa-ston and Yam-śud kLu-čhuṅ, using a translation made previously by the paṇḍita Karmavajra and Zaṅs-dkar gŽon-nu tshul-khrims at 'Dam, and the original Sanskrit text used by Kumārakalaśa. Zaṅs-dkar lo-tsā-ba acted as translator. Then, when they came to Lha-sa, an upāsaka named gÑal-pa Ñi-ma śes-rab heard on three occasions (the exposition) of the Vajraśekharatantra from the lo-tsā-ba and the paṇḍita, and took down many notes. Zaṅs-dkar (lo-tsā-ba) and Ñi-ma śes-rab

visited later Nepāl. After that, the lo-tsā-ba and his disciple proceeded to mÑa'-ris, from where the lo-tsā-ba journeyed to Kāśmīra. gÑal preached on one occasion the Vajraśekhara-tantra. Later, when the Kashmirian Jñānaśrī came to Tibet, he took up residence at Čhos-'khor Ta-bo (in Spiti). After a three years' stay, this paṇḍita learned to speak Tibetan, and gÑal studied under him for three years. From Maṅ-naṅ-pa he received (instruction) on the Tattva-saṃgraha according to the method of Ānandagarbha (Kun-sñiṅ). From sKyi-nor Jñāna he received (the exposition) of the sByoṅ-rgyud (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 483) according to the method of the Master (Atīśa). Later Zaṅs-dkar (lo-tsā-ba) composed a commentary on the Vajraśekharatantra. The paṇḍita Mahākaruṇa (Thugs-rje čhen-po) and Zaṅs-dkar (lo-tsā-ba) also made a translation of three chapters of the second half of the Commentary (Sarvatathāgatatatt-vasaṃgraha-mahāyāna-abhisamaya-nāma–Tantratattvālokakarī–nāma-vyākhyā, Tg. rGyud, No. 2510) at Myaṅ-ro. gÑal-pa Ñi-ma śes-rab, Mar-pa rDor-yes, gÑan-ston Tshul-'bar and sPyaṅ-tshan-pa Seṅ-ge rgyal-mtshan, the four, were called the "Four Sons of Zaṅs-dkar" (Zaṅs-dkar bu-bži). (2b) In general, Zaṅs-dkar (lo-tsā-ba) benefitted greatly the propagation of the Anuttara and Yoga Tantras and in particular that of the Yoga Tantra. Sum-ston Ye-'bar had the following disciples: gÑan-ston Tshul-'bar, rGya-mon Čhos-grags of Myaṅ-stod gTsaṅ-po, sPu-ston 'bar-thog of sTag-tshal gdoṅ-ston and Kham-pa Śes-rab rdo-rje. The kalyāṇa-mitra gÑal-pa's disciple sNur Ñi-ma 'od-zer had four disciples: gLan Čhos-'byuṅ, rTsa-skya dKon-mčhog-grags, dMar Čhos-rgyal and sGaṅs-ston Śer-'bum. His son rDo-rje seṅ-ge composed numerous texts on the Yoga (Tantra). sNur Čhos-'phags, from whom the Dharmas-vāmin rGyal-sras Rin-po-čhe heard the initiation into the *Trailokyavijaya-mahākalparāja* (Khams-gsum rnam-rgyal, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 482), also belongs to the Spiritual Lineage of the (Zaṅs-dkar lo-tsā-ba). The son of sNur Ye-śes

rgyal-mtshan-Chos-rgyal taught the system extensively to the All-knowing 'Phags-'od. 'Phags-'od taught it to Bu Rin-po-che (Bu-ston) and initiated him in the manner of pouring water from one vessel into another. Bu Rin-po-che composed (several) abridgements on the Yoga Tantra, an extensive exposition of the 'Byuṅ-ba (rDo-rje 'byuṅ-ba) and manuals on the different maṇḍala rites. He used to say that "his former karmic inclinations (vāsanā) towards the Yoga Tantra had awakened in him." Most of the Lineages which handed down the Initiation rites of the Yoga Tantra are existing at present, but I failed to find (the Lineage) which handed down the exposition of the (Yoga) Tantra and that of its commentaries ('Gos lo-tsā-ba means here that the Lineage which handed down the luṅ or permission had come to an end. In Tibet no text can be expounded without obtaining a permission or luṅ from a teacher, member of the Spiritual Lineage to which the text belonged). rṄog Chos-kyi rdo-rje studied the Yoga Tantra first under sKyi Bye-ma-luṅ-pa and then under Khams-pa Śes-rab rdo-rje. This Spiritual Lineage continues to exist. The Lineage which handed down the (meditative) practice and the maṇḍala rites of the gSaṅ-ldan (Tg. rGyud, Nos. 2584, 2585), and the exposition of the Nāmasaṅgīti exists to the present day among the followers of rṄog.

The Chapter on the History of the Yoga (Tantra). (3a).

Now the origin of the exposition of the Śrī-Guhyasamājatantra which belongs to the "Inner" Class of the Yoga Tantra (rNal-'byor naṅ-gi rgyud i.e. the Anuttarayoga-Tantra). The meaning of the Guhyasamājatantra (3a)
is twofold: the Tantra of Meaning which is to be explained, and the Tantra of Words which explain it.

According to the first interpretation, the term Guhyasamāja means three aspects of the Body, Speech and Mind which are called guhya or "hidden", and their group is called

samāja or "assembly." This (group) symbolizes all the Buddhas. For this reason the transcendental Body, Speech and Mind of the Buddhas are called guhya or "hidden", because they were hidden from the Śrāvakas and Pratyeka-Buddhas, and even from those of the followers of the Mahāyāna who were deprived of extreme felicity. The Body which manifests itself as a pair (sku-thugs—Body and Mind) represents by its nature an assembly of all the Buddhas. This was called the "Great Vajradhara" or "All-Buddha". Here the word "Buddha" does not mean the Buddhas who dwell in a particular sphere and preach individually to a group of disciples (like the Sthaviravāda and the Mahāyāna teachers, here a Universal Buddha is meant). Since this represents a final stage, the Tantra of Words which helps to elucidate (its meaning) should also be regarded as the chief among Tantras. Now the meaning of this (term) Vajradhara: according to the Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā (sGron-ma gsal-ba, Tg. No. 1785) it is "the essence (ātman) of all the families (kula) (of Buddhas, i.e. the five families or kula of Buddhas: Padma-kula, Vajra-kula, Ratna-kula, Karma-kula and Vairocana-kula or Buddha-kula), without beginning and end, the Ādi-Buddha, the great Consciousness manifested in a living form, the Body or Wisdom (Jñāna-kāya), by nature endowed with a luminous character, by nature possessed of the three Worlds, by nature possessed of the Three Bodies (Trikāya), by nature possessed of the three Vehicles, by nature possessed of the Three Times, by nature possessed of the Three Vajras (kāya-vajra or Transcendental Body, vāgvajra or Transcendental Speech and citta-vajra or Transcendental Mind), by nature possessed of the Two Truths (saṃvṛti and paramārtha-satya)". Therefore, some of the followers of the Samāja who were inquiring about the colour and symbols of Vajradhara, and who used to say that he had a white body, was one-faced and two-armed, seem not to have understood the meaning of the above quoted passage of the Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā. But those inquiring about the colour and symbols

(of Vajradhara), should refer to the colour and symbols, etc. of Vajrasattva (rDo-rje sems-pa), classified as the sixth Dhyāni-Buddha, as was done by them in the case of the passage "Rūpa-Vairocana......" (gzugs rNam-pa snaṅ-mdzad...) (formerly there were five Dhyāni-Buddhas). (3b)

The ācārya Nāgārjuna and his disciples maintained that the (Guhya)samāja represented the essence of all the 84,000 doctrines (of the Buddha). In our time some admit that the (Guhya)samāja should be regarded as an independent work without any connection with any other Tantra. But (this last opinion) shows a tendency to accept the standpoint of the Hīnayāna. Thus, as it was said also in the Vimala-prabhā (Tg. rGyud, No. 1347, Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol.I/ka/, fol. 35 b): "In this manner the interrogator (about the Kālacakra), as related in the Śrī-Samāja (dPal-'dus-pa): Then Vajrapāṇi having been blessed by the Blessed Vajradhara, said: "May the Blessed One explain the meaning of all the Buddhas, the Guhyasamāja of all the Buddhas, the highest of all the Tantras, the great king of Tantras (mahā-Tantra-rāja), etc." Such was the request of Vajrapāṇi. Because it had been said so, (the author of the Vimalaprabhā, i. e. Puṇḍārika, Pad-ma dkar-po) maintained also that the Kālacakra (-Tantra) and its commentary could serve as an exposition of the Guhyasamāja. In the Hevajra-(Tantra) it is also said that "the Mind has the form of an aggregate" (Kg. rGyud, Vol. Ka/I/, /Narthang edition/: de-ni sṅags-bzlas de dka'-thub daṅ de sbyin-sreg// de-ni dkyil-'khor-čan de-ni dkyil-'khor-ñid//mdor-bsdus-nas-ni 'Dus-pa'i gzugs-čan-no//: — "The Mind is the recitation of Mantras; it is penance; it is homa; it is the Master of the Maṇḍala; it is the Maṇḍala itself. In short, the Mind has the form of an aggregate".) If so, the Hevajra-tantra must have been expounded as an introduction to the (Guhya)samāja. The ācārya Kṛṣṇa (Nag-po) has also composed a basic treatise called Guhyatattva-prakāśa-nāma (gSaṅ-ba'i de-kho-na-ñid gsal-ba, Tg. rGyud, No. 1450), and maintained that the essence of the

Guhyasamāja could be explained with the help of the bDe-mčhog 'khor-lo (Kg. rGyud-'bum, Nos. 368-370). The (Guhyasamāja) has been translated during the Period of Early Propagation of the Doctrine by the translator (lo-tsā-ba) lCe bKra-śis. The teachers belonging to the rÑiṅ-ma-pa school declared the (Guhya)samāja to be the most important text among the eighteen classes of their Tantras. There exist also several commentaries on the Guhyasamāja written by ancient Tibetan teachers. In later times the Great Translator Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po translated the Tantra, its commentary the Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā (sGron-ma gsal-ba, Tg. rGyud, No. 1785), as well as other commentaries (on this Tantra), and many lesser texts on the utpattikrama and sampannakrama degrees, which appear also to have been expounded by him. Numerous later translators have gone to Āryavarta, and have studied there the (Guhya)samāja, and later have preached it in Tibet. (4a)

Among them, the Venerable 'Gos (Lhas-btsas) and his followers became the holders (of the doctrine) of the (Guhya) samāja. The adepts of the (Guhya) samāja agree that the Guhyasamājatantra had been preached by the Munīndra himself, following a request of Indrabhūti, the great king of Oḍḍīyāna, at the time when the Buddha had manifested himself in Oḍḍīyāna and initiated (the king). Thereupon the king and his retinue practised the Tantra by means of the prapañca-caryā (spros-spyod) and became initiates (Vidyādhara—one who has attained spiritual realization or siddhi, grub-pa), and the country of Oḍḍīyāna became deserted. After that a yoginī, who had descended from the realm of the Nāgas, heard it (i.e. the Tantra) from (king) Indrabhūti and taught it to king Viśukalpa of the Southern country.

The mahā-brāhmaṇa Saraha heard it from him and taught it to ācārya Nāgārjuna. The latter had many disciples, but the chief ones were the four: Śākyamitra

(Śākya bśes-gñen), Āryadeva, Nāgabodhi (kLu'i byaṅ-čhub) and Candrakīrti. Candrakīrti taught it to Śiṣyavajra (sLob-pa'i rdo-rje). The latter to Kṛṣṇācārya (Nag-po-ba). The latter to Gomiśra (Sa-'dres-pa) and the latter to Abhijña (mṄon-śes-čan). 'Gos studied it under him and other teachers. Now 'Gos (Lhas-btsas): He was born at a place called Khug-pa of Upper rTa-nag from a mother said to have been a manifestation of Tārā. His name was Lhas-btsas, that is "Protected by gods." His family name was 'Gos. Since both his father and mother belonged to the 'Gos family, he was named 'Gos Khug-pa (intermarried 'Gos). Since he was born inside a cattle-enclosure, he was called "born in a cattle-enclosure," but this is only foolish talk. At first he went to study at the residence of Zur-pa. He was given only manual work to do and was not given instruction in the Doctrine. He went to see bla-čhen 'Brog-mi who gave him a short exposition of the Doctrine, but said: "If you desire to listen to instructions (4b) in the Tantras, then fetch gold!" and saying so he did not give him instruction in the Trantras. Then pride rose in him and he thought: "I must go myself to India and become one like him!" He proceeded to India.

While he was studying the Doctrine at the feet of paṇḍitas, he said to himself: "If I do not work diligently, I shall feel ashamed before that beggar 'Brog-mi!" Great diligence was then born in him and he continued his studies with great assiduity. He is known to have had in all seventy paṇḍita-teachers, as far as Nepāl, and two teachers among ḍākinīs, in all seventy-two (teachers). Among these, the chief masters, from whom he heard the exposition of the Samāja were: Abhijña (mṄon-śes-čan) of Bhaṅgala, the scholar bTsun-mo-čan (Yoṣa) of Za-hor, the prince of Koṅ-ka-ṇa sPrin-gyi śugs-čan (Meghavegin), Kṛṣṇasamayavajra (Nag-po Dam-tshig rdo-rje) of Vajrāsana, the Venerable Master (Atīśa), Candrarāhula, a scholar of Kāśmīra (Grib-stan, Srinagar), Śāntibhadra (Źi-ba bzaṅ-po) of Rājagṛha, the

great upāsaka of Ye-raṅ, or the Nepālese Mahākaruṇa (Thugs-rJe čhen-po), Na-ba-kū-ṭi-pa of Bal-po rdzoṅ and the Kashmirian Jñānākara, a disciple of Nā-ro-pa. According to Ṅor-rJe Kun-dga'-'od, Nāgabodhi (kLu'i Byaṅ-čhub) taught (the Samāja) to Tillipa; the latter to Nā-ro-pa; the latter to Ku-śa-li, the Elder; the latter to Ku-śa-li, the Junior; the latter to gSer-gliṅ-pa; the latter is said to have expounded it to Piṇḍo-pa bSod-sñoms-pa, Abhijña (mṄon-śes-čan), Yoṣa (bTsun-mo-čan) and Jñānākara. Some (give the lineage as follows): Vajradhara; he to Vajradharma (rDo-rJe čhos); the latter to Indrabhūti; the latter to one called the "Ḍākiṇī born of the Nāgas" (kLu-las gyur-ba'i mkhas-'gro-ma) and others. The statement that Vajradharma (rDo-rJe čhos) taught it to king Indrabhūti agrees with a prophecy mentioned in the De-kho-na-ñid-kyi sgron-ma'i rgyud (Śri-Tattvapradīpa-nāma-mahāyoginītantrarāja, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 423; sNar-thaṅ bKa'-'gyur, rGyud, vol. I /Ka/, fol. 536b), where it is said: "And the Devī asked: 'Who will understand and explain this great hidden Tantra?' The Blessed One replied: 'In the northern quarter, in Śrī-Vajrasthāna Oḍḍīyāna, a king named Indrabhūti will understand it, will teach it and will expound it to living beings.' And again the Devī asked: 'O Blessed One! What stage of the path has king Indrabhūti reached? Pray state it!' And the (5a)
Blessed One said: 'The Vajrapāṇi king mentioned by me in the Śrī-Jñānatilakayoginītantrarāja (dPal Ye-śes thig-le'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 422) is this Indrabhūti, an incarnation and master of the tenth stage (on the Path of the Bodhisattva), a jñāna-kāya, the master of the 14th stage (bhūmi)'" (in Tantric Buddhism there are four stages, besides the usual ten). Thus the Blessed One had prophesied that king Indrabhūti would appear in the future (and would be instructed by His disciple Vajradharma and not by Himself). Further, according to the Sahajasiddhi (Lhan-čig skyes-grub, Tg. rGyud, No. 2260): Śrīmatī Līlādevī (dPal-ldan Rol-pa lha-mo-čhe), Vajraśrī (De-bžin dpa'-bo rDo-rJe-dpal),

46

Śrī Samayavajra (Dam-tshig rDo-rje-dpal), also Śrī Padmavajra (Pad-ma rDo-rje-dpal), Śrīmatī Sahajavajrā, Vajravatī brāhmaṇī (rDo-rje-dan-ldan bram-ze-mo), likewise Śrī Siddhivajra (Grub-pa'i rDo-rje-dpal). Those to whom the Venerable Yamāntaka-rāja expounded the Śrī Cakra (dPal-ldan 'Khor-lo, i.e. the Guhyasamāja) have been: the teacher "Sleeping Bhikṣu" (i.e. La-ba-pa, who is said to have slept for three years at the gate of king Indrabhūti's Palace), as well as other gods. In its commentary (i.e. the Sahajasiddhipaddhati-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 2261) it is said: "In the country of Śrī Oḍḍīyāna, in a remote jungle called Ratna-alaṃkāra (Rin-po-čhes brgyan-pa) the ṛṣi Jagadāśvāsa ('Gro-ba dbugs-'byin-pa), a manifestation of Guhyapati (gSaṅ-ba'i bdag-po) intended to expound the Sahajaratnopadeśatantra (Lhan-čig skyes-pa'i rin-po-čhe'i man-ṅag-gi rgyud) to some fortunate ones". The ṛṣi Jagadāśvāsa ('Gro-ba dbugs-'byin-pa) taught it to the Princess Mahālīlādevī (Lha-mozol-pa čhen-mo) who taught it to the great king Vairavajra (dPa'-bo rdo-rje). The latter (taught) it to the farmer Padmavajra (Pad-ma'i rdo-rje). The latter to the wine-merchant Sahajavajra (Lhan-čig skyes-pa'i rdo-rje). The latter to the weaver Nandavajra (dGa'-ba'i rdo-rje). The latter to the brāhmaṇī Vajrā who taught it to the barber Siddhivajra (Grub-pa'i rdo-rje). The latter (taught it) to Śrī Sarvajagannātha (dPal-ldan Kun-'gro'i mgon-po). The latter to Cittavajra (Thugs-kyi rdo-rje). The latter to (his) sister Lakṣmiṅkarā who taught it to king Indrabhūti or to La-ba-pa (Kambalapāda, bLa-ma dGe-sloṅ). This is the explanation of the above quoted prophecy. I am of the opinion that, if one were to compare the story about the introduction of the Tantras in Āryavarta by La-ba-pa from Oḍḍīyāna, with the above quoted passage, one (5b)
would find that the account about the Lineage of the teachers of the (Guhya) samāja was authentic. This also seems to agree with a prophecy about La-ba-pa quoted by Āryadeva in his Caryāmelayanapradīpa (sPyod-pa bsdus-pa'i sgron-ma, Tg. rGyud, No. 1803) who also gives

an explanation of the prophecy. Some who had expressed the view that king Indrabhūti and La-ba-pa had been different personalities would be unable to explain the passage in the Commentary on the Sahajasiddhi (Lhan-gčig skyes-grub, Tg. rGyud, No.2223, the Commentary is the Sahajasiddhipaddhati-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No.2261; this passage read "she taught it to king Indrabhūti or La-ba-pa"). This treatise on the Sahajasiddhi (sKyes-grub) is also based on the (Guhya)samājatantra, for in its commentary it is said. "In the Sahajasiddhi it is stated—'From the vast Mahāyāna......,'" the term 'Mahāyāna' here means the "Mahā-Yoga-tantra (i.e. the Guhyasamājatantra), which expounds the hidden (nature) of the Body, Speech and Mind of all the Buddhas." The Jñānasiddhi (Ye-śes grub-pa, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. No. XLIV, ch.XV, contains several quotations from the Guhyasamājatantra) composed by king Indrabhūti, is also clearly based on the (Guhya)samāja. The treatise known as Guhyasiddhi (gSaṅ-ba grub-pa, Tg. rGyud, No.2217, Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol.XXVI /La/, bsTan-'gyur dKar-čhag, fol.46b: Don-dam-pa'i yi-ge gsum-daṅ-ldan-pa'i rgyud-kyi don ṅes-par bsdus-pa dPal gSaṅ-ba grub-pa žes-bya-ba grub-thob čhen-po Pad-ma vadzras mdzad-pa) is also based on the (Guhya)samāja which is clear from the basic text itself. Ācārya Āryadeva quoted extensively from it in his Caryāmelayanapradīpa. Padmavajra (Pad-ma rdo-rje), the author of the Guhyasiddhi, seems to have been the farmer Padmavajra. Thus the (Guhya)samāja must have originated in several Lineages. The Venerable 'Gos revised on two occasions the translations of the (Guhya)samājatantra, which had become the chief among Tantras, and its commentary the Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā. Great was the benefit. Further, he translated the following Tantras and their Commentaries: the Ārya-Ḍākinīvajrapañjara-mahātantrarājakalpa-nāma (Gur, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No.419), the Hevajratantrarāja-nāma (brTag, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No.417), the

Samputa-nāma-mahātantra (Sam, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No 381), the Ratnamāla, a Commentary on the Hevajratantra (Tg. rGyud, No. 1183; Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. XXVI/La/, fol. 19b), together with the Śrī-Vajraḍāka-nāma-mahātantrarāja (bDe-mčhog bśad-rgyud, Kg. rGyud, No. 370), the Śrī Catuḥpīṭhamahāyoginītantrarāja (rDo-rje gdan-bži, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 428), together with its exposition, the Mahā-māyātantrarāja (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 425) and others. He also taught them. He also revised the translations of the branches of the (Guhya)samāja. The chief disciples of this great scholar were: Maṅ-ra Seṅ-ge rgyal-mtshan, rṄog dbUs-pa Ge-ser, Ṅab-mi Byaṅ-čhub rgyal-mtshan, Lho-pa rDo-rje sñiṅ-po, gÑal-pa 'Gar Čhos-kyi rdo-rje and dbUs-pa rGwa-sum, known as the "Six." From these six—Roṅ-pa rGyal-le and So-ston rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan received (instruction in the Guhyasamāja). Tre-po mgon-po studied it under rGya Nam-mkha', a disciple of Ṅab-mi, and Žaṅ rGyal-ma sPaṅ-sgaṅ-pa, a disciple of Roṅ-pa rGyal-le. He preached extensively and had a great many disciples, as well as composed many books on the (Guhya)samāja. His disciples, including the ascetic Čhos-la dga'-ba and others, also expounded extensively the (Guhya)samāja. This Tre-po having greatly benefitted the preaching of the (Guhya)-samāja, I have heard that there have been about 500 copies of the Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā (sGron-ma gsal-ba) in his hermitage. Further, 'Tshur-ston dBaṅ-ṅe (one of the four disciples of Mar-pa) studied the method of 'Gos under Maṅ-ra Seṅ-ge rgyal-mtshan, 'Gar Čhos-kyi śes-rab, rṄog Ge-ser and dbUs-pa rGwa-sum, disciples of 'Gos. 'Khon-gad-pa Kīrti heard the method of 'Gos from him. The kalyāṇa-mitra 'Gar received it from him after offering him an Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (brGyad-stoṅ-pa) written in gold and ten sraṅs as material presents (nor). gÑan-ston Ri-rtse-ba heard the (Guhya)samāja from him. Further, the Venerable Master (Atīśa) taught it to Nag-tsho according to the system of Nāgārjuna ('Phags-lugs).

(6a)

Nag-tsho taught it to Roṅ-pa Phyag-sor-pa. The latter to Zus-lan-pa. The latter bestowed it on Lha-rJe Ri-ston. From the latter it was obtained by Ṅor-rJe Kun-dga'-'od. This Ṅor-rJe has composed also many expositions of the (Guhya)samājatantra together with its branches. His followers spread extensively in gÑal and Dags-po. Further, So-ston rDo-rJe rgyal-mtshan and Roṅ-pa rGyal-le taught it to Śuṅ-ke lo-tsā-ba Dar-ma rdo-rJe. Śuṅ-ke also obtained the initiation (into the Samāja) from Ṅab-mi. It is said that sPa-tshab lo-tsā-ba had studied under this Śuṅ-ke the method of 'Gos. Dol-pa 'Gar-ston dBaṅ-phyug-grub also studied under Śuṅ-ke. He taught it to Jo-bde, son of the teacher gZe-ba. The latter taught it to Jo-bo 'Tshar-pa snu-pa. The latter to Lhab-mi. Further, Maṅ-ra Seṅ-ge rgyal- (6b)
mtshan taught it to rṄog Ye-śes. The latter to rṄog Ñi-ma seṅ-ge. This Ñi-ma seṅ-ge was very famous as a scholar. He gathered (round himself) a great many kalyāṇa-mitras and composed many treatises, including a commentary on the Mūla-Tantra (Guhyasamāja). Thus the Doctrine of the Samāja spread. He taught it to gLan-rtsan-tsha Ñi-ma-lčam. Ñi-ma-lčam appears to have also composed an extensive commentary on the Tantra. Ñi-ma-lčam taught it to rṄog Āryadeva. This latter also attended on the Venerable Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan. Āryadeva taught it to rTag-pa Rin-čhen grags. The All-Knowing Čhos-sku 'od-zer studied under him. He (Čhos-sku 'od-zer) was known as an incarnation of the Kha-čhe paṇ-čhen (Śākyaśrībhadra). By the mere glancing through the śāstras, he was able to penetrate their meaning and therefore became known as the "All-Knowing." He preached during a long time the Samāja and had numerous disciples. His disciple the bla-ma 'Phags-'od who was learned in the Guhyasamājatantra according to the Nāgārjuna method (gSaṅ-'dus 'Phags-lugs), the Yoga-Tantra (Yo-ga'i rgyud) and the Kālacakra (Dus-'khor, 'Phags-yog-dus-gsum), and, who had become a Treasure-house of precepts, studied under him. 'Phags-

'od proceeded to Ža-lu into the presence of the All-Knowing Bu Rin-po-čhe (Bu-ston). He taught a great deal the system of the Guhyasamāja and the Yoga (Tantra).

Bu Rin-po-čhe also became very learned in the Samāja. At the request of 'Phags-pa, he composed an extensive commentary on the Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā(sGron-ma gsal-ba'i ti-ka čhen-mo, Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. IX/Ta/). Further, he composed many treatises on the Samāja. Bu-ston became known as the greatest scholar among the disciples who belonged to the Lineage of 'Gos (Lhas-btsas). He taught the cycle of Samāja to Khyuṅ-po Lhas-pa gŽon-nu bsod-nams. The Venerable Tsoṅ-kha-pa heard it from the latter. The Venerable Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the Great, in general, greatly benefitted the Doctrine, and, in particular, he was the man who encompassed the surface of the Earth with (7a) (the teaching) of the Samāja. The above is but a brief account of the Spiritual Lineage of 'Gos, for I was unable to give a detailed account. When Lha-btsun sŇon-mo of bSam-yas was holding a religious assembly, there came the scholar Śuṅ-ke Dar-ma rdo-rje, learned in the Guhyasamājatantra according to the method of Nāgārjuna (gSaṅ-'dus 'Phags-skor), and sPa-tshab lo-tsā-ba, learned in the dbU-ma 'Phags-skor (the Mādhyamaka system according to the method of Nāgārjuna). sPa-tshab felt attracted towards the Guhya-samāja and heard its exposition from Śuṅ-ke, but did not like it in translation. He therefore made a translation of it and its branches with the assistance of Tilakalaśa who acted as paṇḍita, and later taught it as well. I did not find this Lineage to exist in the present time. Chag Chos-rje-dpal also taught the Guhyasamāja according to the method of 'Gos, first to Jo-btsun rTag-pa, a disciple of rŇog Mun-ne, and to his disciple Jo-bo Lha-mgon-po-dpal of Guṅ-thaṅ. After that he studied extensively under the Nepālese paṇḍita Ñi-ma'i dbaṅ-po'i 'od-zer (Ravīndraruci) and also revised the translations of the commentaries on the (Guhyasamāja) Tantra, the Piṇḍīkṛtasādhana (mDor-byas, Tg. rGyud, No.

1796) and the (Pañcakrama (Rim-lṅa, Tg. rGyud, No. 1802), as well as others. He also composed an abridgement and a commentary on the sGron-gsal (Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā) and thus benefitted numerous persons. It is said that the Kashmirian Somanātha (Zla-ba mgon-po) had bestowed the secret exposition of the Pradīpodyotana-nāma-ṭīkā on sGom-pa dKon-mčhog bsruṅs. Now-a-days these books are not extant. The chapter on the Guhyasamājatantra according to the method of Nāgārjuna.

The Guhyasamāja known as the system of Ye-śes-žabs (Jñānapāda) also penetrated into Tibet through many doors. Now the ācārya Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes (Buddhajñāna) who was a paṇḍita learned in all the branches of knowledge. One day he pleased in the city of Taksaśila, in the country called Kha-bi, which formed part of Magadha, an ācārya known (7b)
as Haribhadra (Seṅ-ge bzaṅ-po), who was a great scholar in the Prajñāpāramitā system and was known to have had a vision of Maitreya. From him he heard the Prajñāpāramitā and many other treatises. He examined them with the help of his wisdom. Again while in Nālandā he composed a commentary (Sañcaya-gāthā-pañjikā, Tg. Śez-phyin, No. 3798) on the Prajñāpāramitā-sañcaya-gātha, Kg. Śez-phyin, No. 13) and taught it to others. He visited the country of Oḍḍīyāna, which was situated 230 yojanas to the north of Magadha, and which was blessed by numerous ḍākiṇīs, and was reputed to be the source of Mantrayāna, in search of Mantrayāna. There in the presence of the ācārya Lalitavajra (sGeg-pa rdo-rje), who was born in Nor-bu gliṅ (Maṇidvīpa), he heard many Kriyā and Yoga Tantras, and studied them thoroughly. Again, in a part of that country, he stayed in the presence of a yoginī named Gu-ne-ru, who understood the Essence, and had obtained the precepts which could not (be encompassed by thought) and worshipped her. He heard from her many Anuttara-Tantras. He also received from her the initiation and the Tantric vows (samaya, dbaṅ-tshig). He then practised meditation, and in his

dream he saw gods prophesy to him that: "there was a 16 years old daughter of a caṇḍālī named Dza-thig dza-la, who was the guardian of the northern gate of Oḍḍīyāna. She is a Mahā-Lakṣmī and you must go there." He immediately went there. They lived together and during eight months he worshipped her. She understood that the ācārya was desirous of practising the Mahāmudrā. To enable him to collect victuals, she bestowed on him magic arts and thus he obtained the magic power (siddhi) of gNod-gnas (name of a deva). Later he went to Jālandh-ara. In a quarter of the town of Kanauj, there lived a man named "Young Child" who was very learned in the Prajñā-Tantra (Yoginī Tantra). From him he heard many instructions and practised meditation. At a distance of about 300 *yojanas south of* Magadha, there was a thick (8*a*) forest in the region known as Kaṃ-ko-na (dist. Guntur, Madras). In a part of this forest resided the ācārya bSruṅ-ba'i-žabs (Rakṣitapāda), a disciple of the ācārya Nāgārjuna, who was very learned in the Upāyatantra (Yoga-Tantra) and was surrounded by disciples proficient in magic powers. He visited him. This teacher had the following disciples possessed of supernatural powers: Bram-ze Tsa-tra-ra, the brāhmaṇa Guhyaparta, Mañjuśrī of the Kṣatriya caste, Pūrṇa-bhadra of the Vaiśya caste, Dīpaṅkara of the Śūdra caste, Karṇaputra of the Sūdra caste, the harlot Ālokī and the harlot Duḥśīlā. In support of them all, the goddess Nor-rgyan-ma (Vasudharī) used to provide daily ten masas of gold, half a do-śal (necklace) of pearls and 300 kārṣāpaṇas. He followed him for nine years. He was an Eka-jāti-pratibaddha, that means unhindered by one rebirth only in respect of the utpannakrama degree, and practised to perfection the third yoga[1]. During 18 months he stayed at that place and worshipped in company of yoginīs, and though he showed great diligence in the performance of

1 Sems-dben. The other two are the Lus-dben and Ṅag-dben.

these practices, he did not perceive the Ultimate Essence. He related his case to the teacher bSruṅ-ba'i-žabs (Rakṣitapāda), who told him: "I also did not perceive it!" He felt somewhat disappointed. Then he transformed his Tantric assistant (phyag-rgya-ma) into a book, and having tied the book (to his waist) proceeded to the forest called Kupaja situated north of Bodhgayā. This forest was a very dangerous place, full of tigers, hyenas (dred) and animals. He used to say: "In general, the forest of Saṃsāra situated behind the Bodhimaṇḍa is filled by carnivorous animals of defilement. I also live in this place in order to be emancipated from it." He propitiated the deities, and spent six months in that place, and then perceived for the first time the Essence of the Elements of Existence. How did he understand it? Once the ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra ('Jam-dpal bśes-gñen) transformed himself into an immoral monk, opened his petticoat, tied his (garb) as a turban, and began to plough a field in company with his wife of evil character and a white bitch with a spot. The ācārya Budhaśrījñāna (Saṅs-rgyas ye-śes) saw it, and thinking "What sort of people are they?," doubt was born in him. The ācārya Mañjuśrīmitra understood Buddhaśrījñāna to be of excellent practice in mantras. In order to help him, he transformed himself into a maṇḍala of Mañjughoṣa. This happened at dawn after the transit of the stars Mṛgaśiras (mGo) and Ārdha (Lag) on the 8th day of the last half of the first autumn month. (His teacher) asked him: "Do you have faith in the teacher or the maṇḍala?" and he replied: "I have faith in the maṇḍala." (The maṇḍala then vanished), and he found himself and the teacher staying inside a small house. Then Buddhaśrījñāna in order to grasp the meaning of the Ultimate Essence, (made a request to his teacher), and pronounced the following verses: "Thou art the father and mother of all beings! Thou shalt protect me and others from great dangers. Thou, the Lord of living beings, shalt remove

(8b)

suffering. Thou, the great deliverer of the Three Worlds, protect living beings, etc." Then the Lord of the Maṇḍala ('Jam-dpal dbyaṅs) bestowed on him his oral instructions (Žal-luṅ, Tg. 1854). The ācārya then understood the Ultimate Essence and he became a yogin possessed of pure wisdom. Mañjughoṣa in order to benefit future living beings, permitted the ācārya to compose the bsKyed-pa'i rim-pa'i sgrub-thabs Kun-tu bzaṅ-po (Samantabhadra-nāma-sādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 1855), the Kun-tu bzaṅ-mo (Catur-aṅgasādhana-Samantabhadrī-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 1856), (9a)
Kun-tu bzaṅ-po'i don-bsdus-pa (Śrī Herukasādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 1857), the sByin-bsreg gñis-kyi čho-ga, the gTor-ma mi-nub-pa'i sgron-ma, the Tshogs-kyi 'Khor-lo'i čho-ga, the Rin-po-čhe 'bar-pa, Śrī Guhyasamājatantrarājaṭīkā-candraprabhā-nāma (rGyud-kyi rnam-bśad, Tg. rGyud, No. 1852), the dKyil-'khor-gyi čho-ga ślo-ka bži-brgya-lṅa-bču-pa (Śrī Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhināma, Tg. rGyud, No. 1865. According to Bu-ston there were 250 ślokas in the work. See Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. XXVI/La/, bsTan-'gyur dkar-čhag, fol. 35b), the rTsa-ba'i ye-śes čhen-po, the Tshigs-su bčad-pa'i mdzod, the Muktitilakanāma (Grol-ba'i thig-le žes-bya-ba, Tg. rGyud, No. 1859), the Ātmasādhana-avatāra-nāma (bDag-grub-pa, Tg. rGyud, No. 1860), the Byaṅ-čhub sems-kyi thig-le, the dPal bKra-śis-kyi rnam-par bśad-pa čhen-po, the bŽi-pa-la 'Jug-pa thabs-daṅ-bčas-pa, the Chu-sbyin dbaṅ-po'i sgrub-pa'i thabs-gsum (Tg. rGyud, Nos. 1861-63: Bhaṭṭāraka-Ārya-Jambhala-Jalendra-sādhana, Guhya-Jambhala-sādhana and Vistara-Jambhala-sādhana. The other treatises were not translated into Tibetan. Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. XXVI/La/, fol. 35b/bsTan-'gyur dkar-čhag/). He obtained permission to compose the above fourteen treatises in agreement with the Scriptures (luṅ, Āgama, Luṅ-daṅ-'thun-pa'i čhos bču-bži). The three 'Kun-tu bzaṅ-po' should be regarded as one (treatise). The three Chu-dbaṅ-gi sgrub-thabs should also be regarded as one (treatise). The rGyud-kyi rnam-bśad (Tg. rGyud, No. 1852)

appears not to have been his work. The remaining works, seem to me, to have been called the "Fourteen Treatises" (Čhos-bču-bži). Since the dKyil-'khor-gyi čho-ga had been taken to Kāśmīra, it was not found in Magadha. It is said that the ācārya Buddhaśrījñāna was able to realize the manifestation of the Ultimate Essence on the Higher Stage (lam mthon-po), but could not transform his physical body (gzugs-kyi phuṅ-po, rūpa-skandha) into that of Vajrakāya. This ācārya used to reside at a place 50 leagues distant from Vajrāsana, in a cave on Mount Mahendragiri (dBaṅ-čhen ri, the name of the cave is dBaṅ-po'i phug, Indasāla-guhā. See Bimala Churn Law: "India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism", London, 1941, p. 29). Besides the rGyud-kyi rnam-bśad (Tg. rGyud, No. 1852), he composed (other) treatises and taught them to his disciples. He had 18 excellent disciples. Among them Dīpaṅkarabhadra (Mar-me mdzad bzaṅ-po), Praśāntamitra (Rab-tu ži-ba'i bśes-gñen), Rāhulabhadra (sGra-gčan-zin bzaṅ-po) and Mahāsukhatāvajra (rDo-rJe bde-ba čhen-po). These four attained the degree of Great Vajradharas (rDo-rJe-'čhaṅ čhen-po, i.e. Buddhahood) in this very life. The names of the remaining fourteen disciples cannot be ascertained with certitude. The ācārya Vitapāda (sMan-žabs) had also been a direct disciple of the ācārya. Vitapāda composed many (9b) treatises (śāstras), including a commentary on the Žal-luṅ (Sukusuma-nāma-dvikramatattvabhāvanamukhāgamavṛtti, Tg. rGyud, No. 1866) and other texts. Moreover scholars belonging to the Spiritual Lineage of his disciples, have composed commentaries on the Tantra (i.e. Guhyasamāja) and many treatises on the 'Two Stages' (Rim-pa gñis, i.e. bsKyed-rim and rDzogs-rim), many of which had been translated into Tibetan. In later times the ācārya Abhaya (Abhayākaragupta) composed the Vajrāvali (rDo-rJe phreṅ-ba, Vajrāvalināma-maṇḍalasādhana. dKyil-'khor-gyi čho-ga zDo-rJe phreṅ-ba-žes-bya-ba, Tg. rGyud, No. 3140). Since he mainly followed on the dKyil-'khor-gyi čho-ga bži-brgya-

lña-bču-pa, his work belongs to the system of Ye-śes-žabs (Jñānapāda).

The ācārya Buddhajñāna later settled in Vajrāsana and its neighbourhood, and is known to have built a new temple (Rev-dGe-'dun Chos-'phel: rGya-gar-gyi gnas-čhen-khag-pa bgrod-pa'i lam-yig, Calcutta, 1939, p.23) there and to have made large offerings (to-it). In Tibet the system of Ye-śes-žabs (Jñānapāda) was first introduced by the Great Translator Rin-čhen bzañ-po. The latter preached it to his disciples and it was handed down through their Lineage. The paṇḍita Smṛti also taught extensively the system of Buddhajñāna in Khams. The ancient ācāryas Buddhaguhya (Sañs-rgyas-gsañ-ba) and Buddhaśānta (Sañs-rgyas ži-ba) had been also direct disciples of Buddhajñāna. Books composed and translated by them also belong to the system of Jñānapāda (Buddhajñāna). In the meantime, the paṇḍita Śūnyaśrī and gÑan lo-tsā-ba also taught much the system of Buddhajñāna in Tibet. sNañ-kha'u-ba, a disciple of gÑan, also spread its teaching. Again, the lo-tsā-ba gÑos-'byuñ-po (sÑos, "the Devil") proceeded to India, and studied well the method of Buddhajñāna under Balin ācārya, a contemporary of Śrī Nā-ro-pa, who was also known as Kṛṣṇapāda, the Junior (Nag-po-žabs-čhuñ-ba). His (Balin ācārya's) previous Lineage: 'Jam-pa'i rdo-rje, the ācārya Buddhajñānapāda, Mar-me mdzad bzañ-po (Dīpaṅkarabhadra), Mañjuśrīkīrtimitra, 'Jam-dpal-grags-pa'i bŚes-gñen, the keeper of horses dPal bDe-ba čhen-po, also known by the name of Kamalakulīśa and Anaṅgavajra (Yan-lag med-pa'i rdo-rje), and the ācārya Yi-ge-pa. He was a clerk of the king Śrī Dharmapāla. Besides receiving (104)
the blessing of Śar-ba-pa, he also attained excellent realization (Buddhahood). He was the spiritual teacher of the former king. The ācārya Karṇa-pa: On ordination, he received the name of Candaniprabhava. His mystic initiation name was Ratnavajra. He also attained realization. Jñānaśrīmitra was the middle pillar of Vikramaśīla. It is

said that he taught (the system) to Balin ācārya. gÑos-'byuṅ-po (the companion of Mar-pa lo-tsā-ba. See J. Bacot: "La Vie de Marpa," Paris, 1937, p. 16, 80) (taught it) to his own son rDo-rJe bla-ma. The latter to his own son gÑos dPal-le; the latter to his own son gÑos Grags-pa-dpal; the latter to his own son rDo-rJe gzi-brJid, known as Saṅs-rgyas Ras-čhen rGyal-ba Lha-naṅ-pa, the latter composed also a commentary on the Guhyasamāja and taught much at Lho-brag, sKyi-śod (Lha-sa), Lha-naṅ and other places. Especially he instructed Lha Rin-čhen rgyal po and gTsaṅ dGe-brag-pa Tshul-khrims gžon-nu. The scholar Byaṅ-čhub-dar studied under these two. He taught it to gZi-brJid rgyal-po, the latter to bLa-ma mGon-po Rin-čhen; the latter to sÑan-ston Kun-dga'-dar, the latter to bLa-ma Ri-pa Śākya-bzaṅ-po and he in turn taught it to gÑos rDo-rJe bla-ma, born in the family of gÑos lo-tsā-ba. He received ordination in his childhood and possessed an excellent moral conduct. He studied well in both dbUs and gTsaṅ and became learned in the method of Buddhajñāna (Ye-śes-žabs). From him he obtained the initiation into the method of Jñānapāda, the 'Jam-rdor (Sūguhyasamājamañjuśrīsādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 1880), the 'Jig-rten dbaṅ-phyug (dPal gsaṅ-ba 'dus-pa'i 'Jig-rten dbaṅ-phyug-gi sgrub-pa'i thabs žes-bya-ba, Śrīguhyasamājalokeśvarasādhana-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 1892), the rGyud-kyi bśad-pa (dPal gSaṅ-ba 'dus-pa rgyud-kyi rgyal-po'i bśad-pa zla-ba'i 'od-zer žes-bya-ba, Śrīguhyasamājatantrarājaṭīkācandraprabhānāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 1852), and the Žal-luṅ (Mukhāgama, Tg. rGyud, No. 1853), and most of the secret precepts (upadeśas). The other Lineage of this initiation is as follows: Mañjuśrī, Jñānapāda (Ye-śes žabs, Buddhajñāna), Dīpaṅkarabhadra, Ānandagarbha (Kun-dga' sñiṅ-po), Tha-ga-na, Śānti-pa, Śraddhākara, Padmākara. From these two—the Great Translator Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po, rKyaṅ-po Čhos-blo, the kalyāṇa-mitra sKyabs-se, rDo-rJe Sra-brtan, dKon-mčhog- (10b)
'bar, the kalyāṇa-mitra dBaṅ-rin, Khams-pa Sa-phug-pa

Śākya rdo-rje, Roṅ-pa Chos-mgon, lo-tsā-ba mChog-ldan, dPal-ldan Seṅ-ge, Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe, further Saṅs-rgyas Ras-čhen, sTon-ma luṅ-pa, Ye-śes mkhar, bLa-ma Chu-sku 'od-zer, Kun-mkhyen 'Phags-'od, Chos-rje Bu-ston, Rin-rnam-pa (sGra-tshad-pa), Kun-mkhyen Śes-rab dpal-bzaṅs, from the latter I obtained the initiation into the system of Jñānapāda. Again, the Spiritual Lineage of the initiation into the Guhyasamājalokeśvara (Tg. rGyud, Nos. 1892,1893): The Venerable Master (Atīśa), Lha-btsun-pa Byaṅ-čhub-'od, 'Ol-pa Byaṅ-čhub rdo-rje, rGya-lčags-ri Goṅ-kha-pa, rDziṅ-bu Kha-pa, Thaṅ-stoṅ-pa Chos-kyi 'od, Zaṅ-yes, gZe-ba Don-grub-mgon, Bar-thaṅ-pa, father and son, Dar-ma Śākya, bSod-nams dbaṅ-phyug, the lo-tsā-ba mChog-ldan, bla-ma dPal-ldan Seṅ-ge, Bu-ston Kha-čhe, Byaṅ-čhen 'Jam-riṅs-pa, Kun-mkhyen Śes-rab dpal-bzaṅs, the latter bestowed (the teaching) on me. The chapter on the system of Jñānapāda (Buddhajñāna).

The Cycle of Yamāntaka (gŚin-rje gśed) was preached by the Venerable Master (Atīśa) to Nag-tsho lo-tsā-ba. They also translated the Tantra itself (Kṛṣṇayamāritantra, Kg. rGyud,No. 467), its commentary—the Sahajāloka (Lhan-skyes snaṅ-ba, Tg. rGyud, No.1918) and other texts. Nag-tsho also studied under Kṛṣṇasamayavajra (Nag-po Dam-tshig rdo-rje). Later Samayavajra came to dbUs and gTsaṅ, and taught the Yamāntaka Cycle, which became known far and wide. Nag-tsho taught the Yamāntaka Cycle to Roṅ-pa Phyag-sor-pa and this system also spread. 'Gos also composed several expositions of the Yamāntaka-Tantra. He also performed the ceremony of Yamāntaka called 'Char-ka according to the rÑiṅ-ma rite (gŚin-rje 'čhar-ka, a form of Yamāntaka worshipped by rÑiṅ-ma-pas and invoked in magic rites). Though other lo-tsā-bas also possessed the text of the Tantra, it was Rwa lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags who mainly taught the Yamāntaka Cycle. Its preaching lasted for a very considerable time. Now Rwa lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags: he was born at sÑe-nam snaṅ-yul. In his child-

hood, he was placed in her sleeve by the goddess Re-ma-ti (Revatī) who took him round the country for two months. After that the goddess entrusted him to his mother. Later (114) he took up ordination and then the final monastic vows. He attended in Nepāl mostly on the Nepālese Mahākaruṇa (Thugs-rJe čhen-po). Nā-ro-pa taught (the Tantra) to Prajñārakṣita and the latter to the Nepālese Mahākaruṇa. Rwa-lo studied extensively under him and became very learned. For example: he mastered the bDe-mčhog rtsa-ba'i rgyud (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 368), the Sampuṭa (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 376), the rDo-rJe mkha-'gro (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 370), the rGyud bla-ma mÑon-brJod bla-ma (Abhidhāna-Uttaratantra-nāma, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 369), the Heruka-abhyudaya (He-ru-ka mṅon-'byuṅ, Kg. rGyud-bum, No. 374), the Kun-spyod (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 375), the Phag-mo mṅon-'byuṅ (mKha'-'gro-ma thams-čad-kyi Thugs-gñis-su med-pa bsam-gyis mi-khyab-pa'i Ye-śes rdo-rJe Phag-mo mṅon-par 'byuṅ-ba'i rgyud-kyi rgyal-po žes-bya-ba, Ḍākiṇīsarvacittādvayacintyajñānavajravarāhyabhibhāvatantrarāja-nāma, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 378), the Nag-po'i čhos-drug (Tg. rGyud, Nos. 1445-52), the system of Lu-yi-pa (Śrī-vajrasattvanāma-sādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 1454), the Cycle of rDo-rJe 'Jigs-byed (Śrī-Vajramahābhairava-nāma-tantra, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 468; Śrī-Vajrabhairavakalpatantrarāja, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 470), the Cycle of gŚin-rJe-gśed nag-po (Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittakṛṣṇayamāri-nāma-tantra, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 467, and Śrī Kṛṣṇayamāritantrarājatrikalpa-nāma, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 469), the Cycle of gDon-drug (Tg. rGyud, No. 2003), the Nāmasaṅgīti (mTshan-brJod), the Cycle of Žal-gñis-ma (Śrī-Vajrayoginīsādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 1550, and the Yogānusāriṇī-nāma-vajrayoginīṭīkā, Tg. rGyud, No. 1565; Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. XXVI /La/, fol. 18a) and instructions in meditation (according to the Cycle of Yamāntaka), such as the Par-pu (Sa-skya Chos-skyoṅ), mGon-čhuṅ, etc. He mastered the precepts of srog-ser (srog-gtad, handing over the life-mantra of the Religious

Protector to a disciple and the making of hail-storms). These were genuine systems of (Indian) paṇḍitas and were not mixed with Tibetan doctrines. Therefore 'Bre Ses-rab-'bar said: "Among the Tibetan translations there are no translated texts more satisfactory, than those by the kalyāṇa-mitra Rwa lo-tsā-ba, for he had understood the thought of learned paṇḍitas and did not confuse it with Tibetan doctrines." Through his excellent labours, he had gathered round himself many great followers including Lha-btsun sÑon-mo and others, and many kalyāṇa-mitras, such as 'Gar-ston-btsan Nam-mkha', Žaṅ-tshes čhuṅ-ba, So-tshab 'dul-'dzin, gÑegs Ri-pa, 'Bre Śes-rab-'bar, 'Ban dKon-mčhog rdo-rJe, Rog mÑon-pa-ba, Žu bKa'-gdams-pa, mTha'-bži-pa So-thaṅ-pa, sTag-pa Kha-čhe, dPyal lo-tsā-ba Kun-dga' rdo-rJe, Žaṅ Sag-pa, Žaṅ gTsaṅ-'od, sGaṅ Indra, sNur Ñi-ma, Ba-reg Thos-pa dga', Lha-rJe dBa, Gran-bu-ba Rin-čhen-grags, kLun rGyam-legs, kLun Se-bo Śākya-rgyal, kLun Tsandra (candra), kLun rDor-po, rGya-loṅ Chos-grags, Mar-pa bSod-nam, A-me Mi-ñag, rGya-Dar-seṅ, Byaṅ-ran stan-pa, Myaṅ, (11b)
Rog-byugs-se, Khyuṅ-po Dar-ma-'bar, Khyuṅ-po Thu-re, sPo lo-tsā-ba, 'Tshe-mi bSod-nams-'bar, 'Tshe-mi čhul-po, Pur Tsandra(candra), Žaṅ, Rwa-sgom rDo-rJe rgyal-po, Roṅ-pa rGya-le, bLa-ma Braṅ-pa, Tsaṅs-yaṅ-dag-'bar, bLa-ma mTha', dPon rKun-po, bTsaṅ-tsha lCam-me, rÑog mDo-sde, Khu lo-tsā-ba mDo-sde-'bar, Grags, Ne-tso, mDo-sde-grags, So rDo-rJe rgyal-mtshan, So dGe-'dun, 'Dzar dGe-po, 'Gar A-tsa, sÑi-ba, Laṅ-tsha sTon-nag, Grol-grub-pa, 'Bre Kha-skyog-pa, Kyu-ra A-skyabs, Rab-dbya Jo-sras, Tre-bo mChog-bla, Do-khro Yon-tshul, dBaṅ, Se-rigs, Zur Hur-po, sPaṅ-gyaṅ bla-ma, Ma-thog Byaṅ-'bar and especially Tre-bo mGon-po, who was famous in Tibet as scholar, and others. (Regarding the number of his pupils,) when the religious council of Sambho-ra was held at gÑal (some Tibetan scholars maintain that this had been the birth place of Thon-mi Sambhoṭa/ sa-'bo-ra "heap of earth", name of a mountain in gÑal/. Thon-mi Sambhoṭa was born in gÑal/ see Vasilyev: "Geografiya

Tibeta", St. Petersburg, 1895, p. 37/) it was attended by 1200 priests who possessed copies of the text of Nag-po'i rgyud (the Kṛṣṇayamāritantrarāja, Tg. rGyud, No. 1920), *800 Tantrics possessing copies of the same* book, in all 2000 disciples. Rwa lo-tsā-ba fixed (the remuneration to be paid for instruction) one golden sraṅ for the Vajrabhairava-tantra (rDo-rje 'Jigs-byed-kyi rgyud, Śrī Vajramahābhairava-nāma-tantra, Kg. rGyud, No. 468) and one golden žo each for the Kṛṣṇayamāritantra, the gDoṅ-drug-gi rgyud (gŚin-rje-gšed nag-po gdon-drug-pa'i 'khor-lo'i sgrub-thabs žes-bya-ba, Kṛṣṇayamārimukhasatcakrasādhana-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 2015), the eight Tantras of Saṃvara (bDe-mčhog rgyud-brgyad, the eight chief Tantras belonging to the 32 Ra-li Tantras of the Saṃvara Cycle, Kg. rGyud-'bum, Nos. 383-390), the Six Books of Nag-po (Nag-po'i čhos-drug, Tg. rGyud, Nos. 1445-1451), the Lū-yi-pa (Śrīvajrasattva-nāma-sādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 1454), the 'Jam-dpal (Bhaṭṭārakamañjuśrīyamāripūjākramavidhi-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 1945) and the Žal-gñis-ma (Vajravārahī, Śrī-Tattvajñāna-siddhi, Tg. rGyud, No. 1551). He thus made the above known as the "golden books." He also received numberless offerings which were not fixed. Of the wealth (phyag-bžes), thus received by him, he sent one hundred golden sraṅs to Vikramaśīla in India, to pay for the cost of reciting the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā written in gold, so long as the Doctrine will be in existence, two golden copies of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā and one hundred golden sraṅs as remuneration for the recitation by eighty-four paṇḍitas of the four schools (of Vikramaśīla, i.e. the Mahāsaṅghikas, the Sthaviravādins, the Sammitīyas and the Sarvāstivādins) of eighty-four copies of the Ārya-Prajñāpāramitāsañcayagāthā (Kg. Śer-phyin, No. 13), so long as the Doctrine exists. He also offered one hundred sraṅs to the bla-ma Bha-ro Phyag-rdum (this was Rwa's mūla-guru from whom he obtained the Yamāri Cycle). He also (124)
offered 108 gaṇacakras having gathered about 200 ha-mus,

each costing about 3 or 4 golden srans. He invited the Nepālese Mahākaruṇa to Tibet. On his return he sent him one thousand golden srans. Till his death, he sent on thirty-seven occasions offerings to him. The circular terrace of bSam-yas was burnt in the year Fire-Male-Dog (me-pho-khyi—986 A.D.) due to jealousy between kLu-mes and sBa-reg, so that even the brick wall crumbled down. He (with the help of his miraculous powers) carried Juniper timber up the stream, and five hundred workmen, including brick-layers (gyan-btan), carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths and image-makers (painters), worked on it for three years. The scholar Rin-čhen rdo-rje supervised the work. In general, about 100,000 loads of building materials were used. With the remaining supply of colours he restored the court-yard of the main temple and the dbU-rtse Lha-khan (chief temple of bSam-yas). The work took two years to complete. The lo-tsā-ba Rwa Chos-rab acted as superintendent. The building materials comprised 10,000 loads. The manner in which he (Rwa) supported monasteries: he made many offerings to the monastery of Nur-smrig (gTsan), including six copies of the Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā. Then he also offered 30,000 loads of even weight towards the cost of feeding visitors, so long as the Doctrine was in existence. To the Bye-mda'-pas he presented a hundred volumes, beginning with sūtras, and 30,000 loads of provisions for distribution among visitors. He presented to the dKyus-than-pas fifty volumes, beginning with two Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā, and 10,000 loads of provisions (to feed) visitors for one month every year. Similar quantities were presented by him to the Nan-tsho-bas and lCan-ra-bas. To the So-skyam-pas he presented a hundred volumes, beginning with sūtras, and 10,000 loads of provisions to feed visitors. A similar quantity was presented to the Re-dul-bas. He prepared 10,000,000 votive offerings, and for each 100,000 he assigned 40 loads of provisions for the men who were engaged in the work of preparing them. Seven (Indian) a-tsa-ras (<ācārya) were

permanently supported by him, six a-tsa-ra priests to recite the Viṃśatisāhasrikā (Ñi-khri) and the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā in Sanskrit, and one A-tsa-ra who was to meditate according to the Lū-yi-pa system. Further, he organized the recital of sacred scriptures a 100,000 times. He made offerings to rÑog lo-tsā-ba, including a copy of the Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā. He held a religious council (12b) during which he distributed food to 10,000 persons. He made similar presents to gLaṅ-ri thaṅ-pas. He made similar presents to bTsan Kha-bo-čhe. To rGya-'dul he made presents, including a Śatasāhasrikā, and held a religious council during which he distributed alms to one hundred persons. He made similar presents to Jo-btsun Khyuṅ, 'Bre, 'Ban, Rog mÑon-pa-ba and to sTag-pa Kha-čhe. The above facts were abridged from his Life story (rnam-thar) written by the bla-ma Ye-śes seṅ-ge. In general, he preached the Doctrine extensively, and, in particular, the Cycle of Yamāntaka to more than 2000 disciples. The Lineages through which the Cycle was handed down were numberless. The continuity of his preaching: Rwa lo-tsā-ba, Čhos-rab, Rwa Ye-śes seṅ-ge, Rwa 'Bum-seṅ, rJe-btsun rGwa-lo, bla-ma Śes-rab seṅ-ge, uncle, nephew and brothers. I am unable to relate the spread of the Lineages founded by each of the above (teachers). The gŚin-rJe gśed dmar-po'i rgyud in 19 chapters (Śrī-Rakta-Yamāritantrarāja, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 474) had been translated by the lo-tsā-ba Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan and Soṅ bLo-brtan. I did not hear about the existence of the exposition of this Tantra. There were many who worshipped the Red Yamāntaka as their tutelary deity, including dPyal Čhos-bzaṅs, Čhag lo-tsā-ba and Bu Rin-po-čhe (Bu-ston). Further, gLo-po lo-tsā-ba Śes-rab rin-čhen, a disciple of the siddha Dar-paṇ and Revenda, spread in Central Tibet (dbU-gTsaṅ) the texts of the precepts of the Red Yamāntaka according to the teaching transmitted through the Lineage of Virū-pa (Raktayamāntakasādhana, Tg. rGyud, No. 2017). I did not hear of the existence of the exposition

of this Tantra according to the teaching of the Lineage of Dar-paṇ. The chapter on the Cycle of Yamāntaka. (134)

The widely propagated teaching and manuals of meditation (sgrub-yig) according to the initiation and Tantra of Śrī-Saṃvara, originated first in the Spiritual Lineage of the disciples of the Great Translator (Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po). In later times Mar-pa Do-pa, sPu-hraṅs lo-čhuṅ, Mal-gyo and others taught extensively this Tantra. The Lineage is as follows: Vajradhara, Vajrapāṇi, Saraha, Śa-ba-ra dBaṅ-phyug and his disciple Lū-yi-pa whom some call Lū-i-pa and some Lū-hi-pa. My teacher the great paṇḍita (paṇ-čhen, i.e. Vanaratna) used to say: "There exists a book on the Sampannakrama degree composed by him, and in the Sanskrit text of the eighteenth śloka, (his name) is written as Lū-yi, so this (form) must be correct." Lū-yi-pa taught the Tantra to king Dā-ri-kā-pa (Dārika) and his minister Ḍaṅgi-pa. The latter taught it to rDo-rJe dril-bu-pa (Vajraghaṇṭa); the latter to Ru-sbal Žabs-čan (Kurmapāda); the latter to Jayandhara; the latter to Kṛṣṇācārya (Nag-po spyod-pa-ba); the latter to Vijayapāda (rNam-rgyal žabs), the latter to Tilli-pa and he in turn taught it to Nā-ro-pa. The biographies of teachers who preceded the last named are numerous, and since it is easy to consult them, I did not write them down. Nā-ro-pa: he was the guardian of the northern gate of Vikramaśīla. The ācārya Śānti-pa (Ratnākaraśānti = Śāntipāda) and the Venerable Maitrī-pa heard the Tantra from him. The Venerable Master (Atīśa) heard it from Śānti-pa. Atīśa in his turn taught it in mNa'-ris to the Great Translator (Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po) and his disciples. He also taught it to 'Gar dGe-ba of gTsaṅ-roṅ. It is said that he expounded the text with the help of the commentary of Devarakṣita (Lhas-sbas; (Tg. rGyud, No. 1407—Śrī-Cakrasaṃvarasādhanasarvaśāla-nāma-ṭīkā). Further, the Master taught the precepts (of this Tantra) in dbUs to Nag-tsho lo-tsā-ba and to an aged Khams-pa. Further, a Nepālese known as Pham-mthiṅ-pa or A-ñes-pa čhen-po had four brothers: the elder Dharmamati, and two

younger ones Dus-'khor-pa and Thaṅ-čhuṅ-pa. Dharmamati spent 12 years with Nā-ro-pa. Pham-mthiṅ-pa went to invite him. The elder said: "You, yourself stay here! Having received a prophecy from (my) teacher, I shall proceed to Wu-t'ai-shan". He went away without anyone knowing where he was going (according to Rev. (13b)
Chos-'phel the elder and younger brother were known by the name of Pham-mthiṅ-pa čhe-čhuṅ-gñis. On the Sino-Tibetan border, near mChod-rten dkar-po, stands the sepulchre (sku-gduṅ) of Pham-mthiṅ-pa and his mudrā or Tantric assistant /rgya-mo-gčig/. The remains are now preserved inside a statue of Saṃvara known as Lo-gya-duṅ bDe-mčhog raṅ-'byuṅ, worshipped by both Tibetans and Chinese).

Pham-mthiṅ-pa attended on Nā-ro-pa for nine years and heard from him (the exposition) of many doctrines, including that of Saṃvara and the Hevajra. He obtained the lower and intermediate siddhis with the help of the Cycle of Saṃvara. His younger brother Dus-'khor-ba attended on Nā-ro-pa for five years, and also heard many doctrines, such as the Saṃvara Cycle and others. The youngest Thaṅ-čhuṅ-pa came to invite Dus-'khor-ba, and also obtained initiation and some instructions in the Tantra from Nā-ro-pa. The elder brother said to Thaṅ-čhuṅ-pa: "You should meditate on Vāgīśvara". He followed the advice and meditated. He threw a flower into a stream (in order to test his attainments) and three times the flower floated up-stream. The first two times they did not notice it, but on the last occasion when the flower floated up-stream, he picked it up, and thus he did not obtain the higher and middle powers of Vāgīśvara, but he obtained the lesser powers by which he was able to compose ślokas and learn texts by heart. When the flower was carried down-stream, a servant named Bhadanta drank of this water and obtained very great wisdom. Pham-mthiṅ-pa then said to Thaṅ-čhuṅ-pa: "You go to Tibet and look for gold, here (meaning the residence of Nā-ro-pa) you should keep the

eternal lamp (burning)". Thaṅ-čhuṅ-pa then took with him Bhadanta as servant and proceeded as far as gÑal. The servant Bhadanta while looking after horses at Ṅur-smrig, learnt Tibetan. From Braṅ-ti he heard (the exposition) of the Abhidharmasamuccaya and mastered it. When he discussed it with the ācārya, he won the debate. Bhadanta then said to Braṅ-ti: "When I shall come again here as paṇḍita, you, Teacher, should receive me!" They, the master and servant, collected 500 golden sraṅs, and eternal lamps and gaṇacakras were kept up without interruption (at Pulahari in the vicinity of Nālandā). The lo-tsā-ba kLog-skya Śes-rab-rtsegs heard the Tantras of the Saṃvara Cycle from Pham-mthiṅ-pa. When the latter came to Tibet, the Mal-gyo lo-tsā-ba bLo-gros-grags obtained the Saṃvara initiation and method of concentration from him. Later Mal-gyo himself went to Nepāl and thoroughly heard the (144a) Cycle of Saṃvara from Pham-mthiṅ-pa and (his) brother Bodhibhadra (Byaṅ-čhub bzaṅ-po), a disciple of Nā-ro-pa, and the Nepālese Mahākaruṇa, a disciple of the Nepālese Kanakaśrī. The bla-ma Sa-čhen (Kun-dga' sñiṅ-po) heard it from him. When the latter was expounding the Tantra, Sun-luṅ-pa bSod-nams rdo-rje wrote down notes, which became known as the "Commentary (ṭīkā) composed by Sa-čhen". Sa-čhen taught it to his own son rTse-mo (rje-btsun bSod-nams rtse-mo) and brother. This Venerable One taught it to Sa-skya paṇ-čhen (Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, 1184-1250). dMar Chos-kyi rgyal-po heard the Saṃvara Tantra from the Venerable One (bSod-nams rtse-mo). The paṇ-čhen taught him the three Tantras (Kg. rGyud-'bum, Nos. 368,369,370) together with precepts. This dMar Chos-kyi rgyal-po belongs to the line of the nephew of dMar Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, a disciple of sPu-hraṅs lo-čhen. He had three nephews: dMar Śes-rab rdo-rje, Thub-pa Śes-rab and brTson-'grus rdo-rje. He studied under his own uncle brTson-'grus rdo-rje the Saṃvara-Tantra, according to the teaching of the Lineage of his own teacher, the Yoga

Tantra, the "Six Doctrines" of lo-tsā (Lo-tsā čhos-drug i.e. Rin-čhen bzaṅ-po'i čhos-drug) and other texts. There must have existed many lineages of disciples, holders of the doctrine of Saṃvara, originated from Sa-skya-pa, father and sons, but I did not hear of anyone else, except dMar Čhos-rgyal, and therefore I am unable to write about it. Mar-pa Do-pa was born in the family of Yar-'brog bla-do, in which many kalyāṇa-mitras had been born. His father was named kalyāṇa-mitra Čhos-rgyal. His own name was Čhos-kyi dbaṅ-phyug. At first he studied Sanskrit with a paṇḍita and met Roṅ-zom Čhos-kyi bzaṅ-po. Later he studied also with Go-rub lo-tsā-ba Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba. Then he proceeded to Nepāl and it is said that he met there Mar-pa Lho-brag-pa who was returning from India. According to this (story) and the account of his meeting with Čog-ro Čhos-rgyal, this lo-tsā-ba seems to have been born, when the Venerable Mar-pa was about 31. He lived to the age of (14b)
95. He presented to Mar-pa Lho-brag-pa one golden žo when he met Mar-pa. Mar-pa said to him: "You may be in need of even one golden se-be (the berry of the tree mañjari, used as weight). You take it yourself. I am going to Tibet to sweep gold. Nā-ro-pa is not there, as he has gone for Secret (Tantric) practice. You should listen to the Doctrine from the four disciples of Nā-ro-pa." Then when Mar-pa Do-pa arrived in Ti-ra-hu-ti (Tirhut), a large crowd had gathered, and he inquired: "What was there?" They said to him: "We are looking at the coming of Nā-ro-pa." He mingled with the crowd, and having approached Nā-ro-pa, offered him one golden žo. Nā-ro-pa after holding it in his hand, threw it on the ground and gazed at him with wide-open eyes. Though he did not say anything, Mar-pa Do-pa understood that he had been blessed (by Nā-ro-pa). After that (Mar-pa Do-pa) proceeded to Magadha. Following the advice received from Mar-pa Lho-brag-pa, he obtained the initiation into the Cycle of Saṃvara, the Tantra and its precepts according to the system of Nā-ro-pa, from Nā-

ro-pa's disciples Manakaśrī, Prajñārakṣita, Kha-che Byaṅ-čhub bzaṅ-po (Bodhibhadra) and Pramudavajra (=Pramuditā-vajra). He also heard many instructions from many paṇḍitas. After returning again to Nepāl, he heard the exposition of the Nā-ro-pa's system from Pham-mthiṅ-pa, from the latter's younger brother Vāgiśvara (Ṅag-gi dbaṅ-phyug) and the Nepālese Kanakaśrī. He also received many instructions from the siddha Phyag-na (Vajrapāṇi), a direct disciple of Maitrī-pa, who was residing in Nepāl. He also studied under the brāhmaṇa Kṛṣṇapāda, a disciple of the Nepālese Dza-hūṁ. He translated many texts belonging to the Cycle of Saṃvara with the assistance of Sumatikīrti. On reaching Tibet, this lo-tsā-ba (Mar-pa Do-pa) gathered numerous disciples who heard from him the Cycle of Saṃvara, and gTsaṅ-mi mkhas-pa rGya-nam, Do'i-gze-ba bLo-ldan and Čog-ro Čhos-rgyal of Khams continued successfully his Spiritual Lineage. A disciple of the Lord sGam-po-pa, possessed of excellent knowledge, and known as La-yag-pa Byaṅ-čhub-dṅos-grub, also obtained from gZe-ba the Cycle of Saṃvara, according to the system of Mar-pa Do-pa (Mar-Do) at bLa-do. He composed an extensive commentary, basing himself on the instructions received by him from sGam-po-pa, on the (Saṃvara) mūla-tantra and the Kun-spyod (Yoginī-sañcaryā, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No.375). He also composed a commentary on the (15a)
commentary of the Pañcakrama by Dril-bu-pa (Śrī-Cakra-saṃvarapañcakrama-vṛtti, Tg. rGyud, No. 1435) and an exposition of the Utpannakrama (bskyed-rim). Mar-pa Do-pa himself composed an extensive commentary and a summary on both the Mūlatantra (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 368) and the Yoginī-sañcaryā (Kun-spyod, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 375). When the son of Mar-Do, named Nam-mkha'-'od was born, he obtained the complete precepts of his father's teachings. He went to sKyi-śod (Lha-sa) and other places. He taught to others short precepts, and died at one and the same time with his father, so

that his Lineage did not continue. gZe-ba taught (the system) extensively to his own son bDe-mčhog rDo-rje. From the latter the lineage received a great spread. mKhyen-rab dBaṅ-phyug heard the exposition of the Cycle of Saṃvara from Yan-rtse-ba Rin-čhen seṅ-ge. He also heard it from Khaṅ-gsar-pa bSod-nams-mgon, but he used to say that he had not found the preceding Lineage. It must have been the school of Mar-Do (Mar-pa Do-pa). Its Lineage of initiation: the Buddha (Cakrasaṃvara), Vajravārahī (Ye-śes mkha'-'gro-ma), Lū-yi-pa, Ḍeṅgi-pa, La-ba-pa, Indra-bodhi (Indrabhūti), Ka-tsa-pa, Vajraghaṇṭa (Dril-bu-pa), Jālandhara-pa, Kṛṣṇācārya (Nag-po-pa), Ku-śa-la-na, Tilli-pa, Nā-ro-pa, Manakaśrījñana, the Nepālese Bhadanta, Mar-pa Do-pa, gZe-ba blo-ldan, gZe-ba Jo-bde, the ācārya Khu-lhas-pa, the ācārya Lho-tshaṅ-pa, the lo-tsā-ba mČhog-ldan, the bla-ma dPal-ldan seṅ-ge, and Bu-ston. In general, Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe was the holder of seven different Lineages of initiations into the Cycle of Saṃvara. Bu Rin-po-čhe (Bu-ston) composed an exposition of the system of Lū-yi-pa (dPal 'Khor-lo sdom-pa'i sgrub-thabs rnal-'byor-bži-ldan, Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. VII /Ja/), and its maṇḍala rite (Lū-i-pa'i dkyil-mčhog, Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. VII/Ja/). He also composed a commentary called 'Khrul-spoṅ (dPal 'Khor-lo sdom-pa'i sgrub-thabs 'Grel-pa 'Khrul-pa spoṅ-bar byed-pa or Nag-po-pa'i sgrub-'grel. Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. VII /Ja/) on the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-sādhana-nāma (mŃon-par rtogs-pa, Tg. rGyud, No. 1445) and a commentary[1] on both the bDe-mčhog rtsa-ba'i rgyud (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 368) and the Yoginī-sañcaryā (Kun-spyod rgyud-'grel bDe-mčhog-gi don rab-tu gsal-ba, Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol.

1 Volume VI (Cha) of the Bu-ston gSuṅ—'bum contains two commentaries by Bu-ston on the bDe-mčhog rtsa-ba'i rgyud. the bDe-mčhog rtsa-rgyud-kyi bsdus-don gsaṅ-ba 'byed-pa and the bDe-mčhog rtsa-rgyud-kyi rnam-bśad gsaṅ-ba'i de-kho-na-ñid gsal-bar byed-pa.

VI /Cha/). He also wrote on the maṇḍala rite of Saṃvara (bDe-mčhog sdom-pa 'byuṅ-ba'i dkyil-čhog Dri-med čhu-rgyan, Bu-ston gSuṅ-'bum, vol. VII /Ja/). From among the many manuals on maṇḍala rites composed (by Bu-ston), in this manual he discussed in details the fourth initiation (see sDom-'byuṅ dkyil-čhog, fol. 50a-55a).

Čog-ro Čhos-kyi rgyal-mtshan was born in the year Earth-Male-Mouse (sa-pho-byi-ba—1108 A.D.) in Lower Khams (mDo-smad or Amdo). At the age of 19, he came to the (15b) school of rGya-dmar (sTod-luṅ). This Earth-Mouse year is the Mouse year which preceded the Iron-Tiger year (lčags-stag—1110 A.D.) in which dPal Phag-mo gru-pa was born. He studied the Pramāṇaviniścaya (Tshad-ma rnam-ṅes) and the teachings of the school known as Mādhyamaka-Svātantrika (dbU-ma raṅ-rgyud), and became a learned man. At the age of 24, he taught the Pramāṇaviniścaya. His fellow students at the school were: the Lord Phag-mo gru-pa, mKhan-po Ka-ba and 'Bal Tshad-ma-pa. Do-pa's son Jo-sras Nam-mkha' also came to that school. Čog-ro also obtained from him the lesser precepts and studied extensively under Ar and the Khams-pa A-seṅ. At gŽuṅ he studied with rṄog mDo-sde the Cycle of Hevajra and the Māyā, as well as composed a text-book called Rin-čhen lJoṅ-śiṅ (a text on the Hevajra Cycle). After that, on three occasions he visited the bLa-ma (Mar-pa) Do-pa, and pleased the Teacher with offerings. He studied the Saṃvara-Tantra together with its branches, and mastered it thoroughly. Jo-sras revealed to him the hidden precepts (possessed by his father). The bla-ma lo-tsā-ba (i.e Mar-pa Do-pa) passed away at the age of 95. About the same time Jo-sras also passed away. After that, he (Čog-ro) studied the Vajravārahī Cycle with a direct disciple of Ha-mu dkar-po called dPyal-lo Kun-dga' rdo-rje. Then he taught for a while the exposition of the (Pramāṇa)viniścaya and meditated for six years at gNam-tsho. After that he founded the Me-dge lha-'tsho, and established there a college (bśad-grwa) and a meditative

school (sgom-grwa). (He) had hunters as disciples who proceeded to Heaven without leaving their physical bodies behind. He (Čog-ro) composed a commentary on the (bDe-mčhog) rtsa-rgyud and taught it extensively. He lived to the age of 69 and died on the second day of the month of Kārtikā (smin-drug—October-November) of the year Fire-Ape (me-spre—1176 A.D.). His method of explaining basic texts was continued by the kalyāṇa-mitra Gu-śrī (<chin. kuo-shih) 'Brom-pa, Roṅ-po dGe-riṅs and others. The great ācārya of 'Bri-khuṅ (continued) to bestow initiations (according to his method). Žaṅ maintained the abbot's chair. Žaṅ was named Tshul-khrims śes-rab. He, having met 'Bri-khuṅ-pa, attained the understanding of the Mahāmudrā (Buddhahood). His disciple was Kun-tu-'od. Rom-po-ba was a disciple of these (16a)
two. I doubt that these facts were obtained from the scholar gYor-ston, who based himself on a statement by the ācārya Dharmaketu (grag corresponds to Sanskrit Kila, and expresses doubt). Kun-tu-'od: (This) was his title (čhe-miṅ), his real name being dBaṅ-phyug seṅ-ge. He was also called rNo-ra-ba. His disciple was Žaṅ-btsun sMon-lam dbaṅ-phyug, who lived till the age of 85, from the year Fire-Ape (me-spre—1176 A.D.) to the year Iron-Ape (lčags-spre—1260 A.D.). He was also a disciple of Khro-lo (Khro-phu lo-tsā-ba), and was a famous and great magician. His disciple was rDzoṅ-pa, who was born in the year Water-Tiger (čhu-stag—1182 A.D.). At 20, in the year Iron-Hen (lčags-bya—1201 A.D.), he was appointed to the abbot's chair. He died at the age of 69 in the Iron-Dog (lčags-khyi—1250 A.D.). His disciple known as the bla-ma Dam-pa Rin-po-čhe was born in the year Wood-Female-Sheep (śiṅ-mo-lug—1235 A.D.). At the age of 16, in the year Iron-Dog (lčags-khyi—1250 A.D.) he was appointed to the chair. He died at the age of 39 in the year Water-Hen (čhu-bya—1273 A.D.). He seems to have been called gÑan-thog Jo-'bum. The teaching of the

Saṃvara-Tantra has thus lasted for a long time. Tre-bo mgon-po studied well the four ākhyā-tantras (bśad-pa'i rgyud) of the Saṃvara Cycle[1] according to the method of Mar-Do (Mar-pa Do-pa) with the great scholar rGya Nam-mkha'. lDum-ra sgaṅ-pa gÑan rDo-rje seṅ-ge heard (the Tantra) from him. He was pleased to bestow the teaching on sÑe-mdo, the All-Knowing. The assistant translator of Mar-pa Do-pa—Grags-pa śes-rab studied in India and Nepāl under the teachers (at whose feet) Mar-Do (Mar-pa Do-pa) had heard the Tantra. Later he studied extensively with the rājaputra Bhīmadeva. People used to say that the Junior Translator possessed more doctrines than the great Lo-tsā-ba himself (i.e. Mar-pa Do-pa) and had numerous disciples. After having preached for a considerable time the Cycle of Saṃvara, he practised meditation at the cave of Śrī in Southern Las-stod. Soon after that he proceeded to Heaven. I did not hear about the continuation of the exposition (of the Saṃvara Cycle) by his other disciples, except for the Lineage of dMar Čhos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, and for this reason am unable to give an account of it here. Further, the Sum-pa lo-tsā-ba of Roṅ, Dharma Yon-tan proceeded to Nepāl, and requested a paṇḍita known by the name of Jayasena, who was also known as Dam-pa Khaṅ-gsar-pa and who later came to Tibet, and was attended (16b)
on by the Venerable Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, to translate the Śrī-Ḍākārṇava-mahāyoginītantrarāja (bDe-mčhog mkha'i 'gro rgya-mtsho'i rgyud, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 372) its commentary (Tg. rGyud, No. 1419) composed by the siddha Saroruha (mTsho-skyes), as well as its initiation rite (Tg. rGyud, No. 1521) and sādhana (Tg. rGyud, No. 1516) composed by Jayasena.

1 Śrī-Vajraḍāka-nāma-mahātantrarāja, Kg. rGyud-'bum. No. 370; Śrī Ḍākārṇava-mahāyoginītantrarāja-nāma, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 372; Śrī Mahā saṃvaraodaya-tantrarāja-nāma, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 373, and the Yoginī-sañcārya, Kg. rGyud-'bum, N. 375.

He revised the translation of the Tantra and its commentary at the request of his uncle dPal-mčhog Dad-pa'i rdo-rje. This Tantra spread throughout Tibet from many quarters. The Dharmasvāmin Raṅ-byuṅ rdo-rje composed also many text-books on it. Saroruha, the author of the commentary (Tg. rGyud, 1419), seems to have been Padmavajra (Padma rdo-rje) who belonged to this Lineage.[1]

Ratnarakṣita composed a commentary (Tg. rGyud, No. 1420) on the sDom-pa 'byuṅ-ba (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 373). I am of the opinion that since Čhag lo-tsā-ba had been his direct disciple, he must have possessed the method of exposition of (this Tantra). In later times, the Venerable Tsoṅ-kha-pa also followed the Lineage of Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe and wrote a commentary on the bDe-mčhog rtsa-rgyud, having compared the text with its ākhyā-tantra and the great commentaries on it; he also composed a mÑon-rtogs, a dKyil-čho (maṇḍala rite), a mÑon-dkyil (mÑon-rtogs-dKyil-'khor), according to the system of Ghaṇṭa (Dril-bu-pa), an Analysis of the Five Stages according to the system of Ghaṇṭa (Dril-bu Rim-lṅa'i rnam-par bśad-pa) called Rim-lṅa gsal-don and the "Practice of the great yoga of the Sampannakrama degree according to the method of Lū-yi-pa" (Lū-yi'-pai lugs rdzogs-pa'i rim-pa rnal-'byor čhen-po ñams-su len-lugs) and the "Exposition of the method of Lū-yi-pa" (Lū-yi-pa'i mÑon-rtogs-kyi bśad-pa) called 'Dod-'Jo. In this manner he revived the practice of the Cakrasaṃvara ('Khor-lo sdom-pa) which had deteriorated (in Tibet). The chapter on the Saṃvara (bDe-mčhog)-Tantra.

There had existed a rite of initiation of a disciple into the Maṇḍala of the female deities only, named Phag-mo lha so-bdun-ma (Vajravārahī of the 37 female deities), which was based on the ākhyā-Tantra of the Saṃvara cycle. There

1 mTsho-skyes or mTsho-skyes rdo-rje translates the Sanskrit Saroruha or Padmavajra. In Tibet among the rÑiṅ-ma-pas, Saroruha is said to have been Padmasambhava.

also had existed several rites of worshipping and meditation on this maṇḍala.

The majority of the Tantric yogins in this Land of Snows (Tibet) were especially initiated and followed the exposition and meditative practice of the system known as Phag-mo gžuṅ-drug (Tg. rGyud, NoS. 1551-1556) and based themselves on the sDom-pa rgya-mtsho (this seems to be the Śrī-Ḍākārṇava-mahātantrarāja, Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 372). This method was also bestowed by king Indrabhūti's sister (in the ancient language lčam means always "sister") Lakṣmīṅkarā (Lha-mo dpal-mo) on the Venerable Virū-pa, who in his turn bestowed it on one known as the great Avadhūti-pa or Paiṇḍapātika, the Great (bSod-ñoms-pa). He was a native of Eastern Bengal and a kṣatriya by caste. He was ordained in the Mahāsaṅghika sect and practised meditation on Guhyasamāja-Mañjuvajra (gSaṅ-ba 'dus-pa 'Jam-pa'i rdo-rje, a form of the yellow Guhyasamāja). After he had seen a distressing dream that he had swallowed the Sun and Moon, he went to see Virū-pa (Bir-wa-pa), and obtained from him the initiation into the Cycle of the Yoginī (rNal-'byor-ma, i.e. Vajravārahī) and at the same time saw a vision of the goddess. He listened to the exposition of the Tantra and its mystic precepts, and practised them. Then Virūpa introduced him to the practice (spyod-pa, caryā). When he began the mystic practice on the banks of the Ganges, there was a trident which could not be moved by men, and on which heretics used to jump, believing that death would give them emancipation. He seized it and threw it into the Ganges. The heretics begged him to restore the trident, and having taken it out (from the river), he handed it to them, saying: "On this Path there is no emancipation!" The man who had obtained such supernatural powers (siddhi) became the Teacher of lDoṅ-ṅar-ba. He belonged to a low caste of Magadha. A strong desire was born in him to enter religion. Having heard that one called Avadhūti-pa was residing in Bengal,

and had attained Enlightenment, he disguised himself as a monk, and having taken with him several kārṣāpaṇas, he went to see Avadhūti-pa. (On reaching there), he saw an elderly monk ploughing the field with a pair of oxen, while his wife was engaged in collecting insects. At first he felt somewhat disturbed and thought to himself: "Must I make my request to this one ?" Having presented the coins, he made the request to be admitted as follower. "But you do not trust me!" said Avadhūti-pa. "It is true !" said he, and having entreated him fervently, he followed on Avadhūti-pa for three years. Then Avadhūti-pa initiated him for the first time and he had a clear vision of Vajravārahī. He obtained a special supernatural power (siddhi). Then he left him, and while residing at Jālandhara, he heard about a heretic who was engaged in a contest with the monks of Vikramaśīla, in both philosophy and supernatural powers. The latter had (17b)
difficulties in finding (a scholar) who would be able to defeat the heretic. On learning this lDoṅ-ṅar-ba proceeded there. When they had installed the king to act as arbiter and were about to begin the debate, the heretic said: "Shall we contest in philosophical knowledge, or supernatural powers ?" "As you like !" replied lDoṅ-ṅar-ba. "Well then, I shall send a snake towards you !" and the heretic sent towards lDoṅ-ṅar-ba a poisonous and glittering snake to destroy him. The ācārya then revealed his hog head (he was a devotee of Vajravārahī) and with the sound 'thik' he swallowed the snake, and thus defeated the heretic, who was converted to the Doctrine of the Buddha. The heretic said: "A hog-faced god belongs to the heretics and does not exist among Buddhists !" That is why lDoṅ-ṅar-ba composed a sādhana of Vajravārahī, and bestowed on the Junior Paiṇḍapātika (bSod-ñoms-pa), named Jinadatta, the system (of Vārahī). A king of Southern Be-ta-la (Vetala) was childless. The king once held a great feast and a son was born to him, whom he called Bhojadeva. Later, when the boy became king, he proceeded to a forest accompanied by his

retinue. There lDoṅ-ṅar-ba assumed the form of a beggar yogin and gazed for a long time at the king. The king became angry and ordered his retinue to kill the yogin. lDoṅ-ṅar-pa pronounced several discourses (on Truth), and the king having abandoned his kingdom, took up meditative practice. In the country of the South he became known as the "alms-gatherer" (bSod-ñoms-pa) Jinadatta (rGyal-bas byin) and attained supernatural faculties.

This "alms-gatherer" took with himself as attendant Tsha'o Buddhadatta (Saṅs-rgyas byin) and proceeded to Nepāl. He begged for alms at the door of one named Ma-he-bhā-ro. Bhā-ro sent a maid-servant with some food and wine, and when she was pouring wine into his skull-cup, the wine began to boil. Greatly amazed the maid-servant, reported the matter to Bhā-ro. Bhā-ro was filled with faith and went out himself to give alms. While Jinadatta was staying there partaking of food offered by Bhā-ro and others, he met Devākaracandra, whose secret name was Śūnyatā-samādhivajra (sToṅ-ñid Tiṅ-'dzin rdo-rje). This ācārya belonged to the nobility of the great city of Ya-'gal (Yam-'gal, name of a Vihāra in Nepāl) and was the only son. When he was eight, his father married him and (18a)
ordered him to lead the life of a householder, but the boy said: "I shall enter religion," and did not listen to his father's words. "Where will you enter?" inquired the father. "I know one from whom I shall inquire," answered the son, and for seven days he circumambulated the Ārya-Jamali (in sKyi-roṅ). On the last day, he said to (his father): "Send me to the country of India!" and thus proceeded to India. He requested to be ordained at Vikrama-śīla, but was told that the number of the congregation was not sufficient (this sentence apparently contains a mistake and should read: dge-'dun-gyi graṅs tshaṅ zer-nas..., which would mean that the number of ordained monks at Vikramaśīla was complete. It is said that Vikramaśīla had a fixed number of 50 ordained monks and 13 novices. The ordination

ceremony required the attendance of 25 ordained monks in the country of Madhyadeśa, and only five in border countries. Our text seems to indicate that at that time Vikramaśīla had less than 25 ordained monks), to hold an ordination ceremony and was not permitted to take up ordination. He then studied (Sanskrit) grammar and logic and became very learned. He met the Nepālese Ratnaśrī and studied under him the Samputa (Kg. rGyud-'bum, No. 381) and the Hevajra(Tantra), and thus became a great scholar. When he was 20, he returned to his own home and amassed much property. When he heard that Bhā-ra had a household priest named bSod-ñoms-pa (Paiṇḍapātika), he felt faith born within him and proceeded to meet him, having taken three ṅas-pa co-ra(?).

He requested to be given initiation and the ācārya replied: "You are a paṇḍita! Why do you make your request to an ignorant man?" But he again and again begged to be given precepts, and finally the ācārya said: "Well now, the initiation must be given! Fetch here provisions!" Ma-he-bhā-ro and Devākaracandra obtained initiations at the same time. At the time (of the initiation), the teacher blessed a skull-cup full of wine and though they partook of the wine, the cup remained full. Tsha-bo (nephew?) Saṅs-rgyas byin (Buddhadatta) also blessed (the skull-cup full of wine) and the same thing happened. The teacher then imparted the Doctrine to them and bestowed on them secret precepts. Devākaracandra requested the teacher to write down the Žal-gñis-ma čhe-ba (Śrī-Tattva-jñānasiddhi, Tg. rGyud, No. 1551), the Don-grub-ma čhe-ba (Sarvārthasiddhi-sādhana-nāma, Tg. rGyud, No. 1552) and the sByin-bsreg (Śrī-Vajrayoginī-homavidhi, Tg. rGyud, No. 1556) but the teacher did not agree to it. Then the sByin-bsreg was written down by Buddhadatta who had obtained permission from the teacher. Again the teacher was invited by rHa-mu dkar-po and bestowed on him the complete initiation and secret precepts. During

the initiation rite, five girls were compelled to attend the rite with the help of mantras and they were made invisible (in order that) the wife of Ha-mu might not see them. The wife saw only cups of wine suspended in the air and did not see the girls (who were holding the cups). She asked the teacher: "How could this be?" "I have blessed them!" replied the teacher. At that time, in the country of Nepāl, five had gathered, four disciples—sTon-ñid Tin-'dzin, Ma-he-Bhā-ro, Ha-mu dkar-po and Buddhadatta, and the teacher. (18b) Ha-mu presented five golden sraṅs. Then the teacher said that he was going to India and the three disciples accompanied him as far as Bodhgayā (rDo-rJe gdan). When they met robbers on the way, they asked what they were to do and the teacher said: "I have a way!" He then blessed the robbers and these began to dance, and while they were engaged in dancing, they all escaped. The three disciples returned from Bodhgayā but the teacher proceeded to South Be-ta-la (Vetala). sTon-ñid Tin-'dzin (Devākara-candra) practised meditation during six years and obtained special faculties. But, because he had written down the Žal-gñis-ma čhe-ba and the Don-gsal-ma čhe-ba, and thus had somewhat acted against the teacher's will, his worldly possessions decreased and he used to say: "This must be a handicap caused by loka-ḍākiṇīs."

There were many other books written by him (Devākara-candra): the Śes-rab Ye-śes gsal-ba, the bDag-med-ma'i mṅon-par-rtogs-pa, the sPyan-ma'i ṅan-soṅ yoṅs-su sbyoṅ-ba and the Kye'i-rdo-rJe dkyil-'khor-gyi čho-ga. These had been translated into Tibetan (Tg. rGyud, No. 2226, Tg. rGyud, No. 1312; Tg. rGyud, No. 1907; Tg. rGyud, No. 1262). Now Ha-mu dkar-po: his real name was bSod-nams 'byuṅ-gnas bzaṅ-po (Puṇyākarabhadra). His title as scholar (yon-tan-gyi miṅ) was Varendraruci which means mChog-tu dBaṅ-po gsal-ba (One endowed with clear faculties). He studied extensively the Vārahī Cycle with sTon-ñid Tin-'dzin. dPyal Kun-dga' rdo-rJe also studied with the latter.

The story of this dPyal family was as follows: A minister of the Dharmarāja Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had three sons. The king used to call them: the 'White', the 'Black' and the 'Piebold', and thus their descendants began to be known as the "White, Black and Piebold dPyal". Most of the early descendants had been excellent kalyāṇa-mitras belonging to the "Old Believers" (rÑiṅ-ma-pa). Of these, dPyal 'Byuṅ-gnas rgyal-mtshan having collected much gold, presented the gold to the owners, and bought Smṛti out who had become a shepherd. After that Smṛti amassed a large fortune. When the paṇḍita preached at Bres, a shower of gold and turquoise fell. Though he was requested to stay (194) on, he did not listen and proceeded to Khams. The nephew of dPyal 'Byuṅ-gnas rgyal-mtshan—Se-tsha bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan proceeded to Nepāl, and there met Pham-mthiṅ-ba. He heard (from him) the exposition of the Cycle of Hevajra and other Cycles, according to the system of Nā-ro-pa. He also composed a commentary on the Hevajra (Tantra) and thus the study (of this Tantra) continued for a long time among the members of the dPyal lineage. He also made numerous translations of the commentary of Bhavabhadra (Tg. rGyud, No. 1415) and of other texts. His nephew Kun-dga' rdo-rje became very learned in the books of the "Old Believers" (rÑiṅ-ma-pas) according to the Zur system in Tibet. He also obtained the Tantras of the "New" class which were handed down among his ancestors and the precepts of the Nam-mkha' skor-gsum from the Nepālese Kāyaśrī. He presented Kāyaśrī with about 50 golden sraṅs and thus pleased him. Later, he proceeded to Nepāl and received from Ha-mu dkar-po the six texts (čhos-drug-Phag-mo čhos-drug) together with their initiations. But Ha-mu did not give him the special precepts. Further, he again made offerings to Ha-mu and his consort, and pleased them both, and finally was given the 13 special precepts. At that time, the Indian Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-na) was also residing in Nepāl. He accepted him and sToṅ-ñid

Tiṅ-'dzin as teachers. He thought that since Vajrapāṇi was a wealthy man, he could not invite him, and therefore invited Devākara, but did not succeed in collecting funds. Further, sNubs-ston obtained this class of Vajravārahī Cycle from the Nepālese Ha-mu and handed them (to others). Khu Ne-tso obtained (them) in Nepāl from Ha-mu dkar-po himself, as well as heard the system from sNubs-ston, and made several translations of it. The system was spread by him also. Rwa lo-tsā-ba heard the Vajravārahī Cycle, (Phag-mo'i skor) from the Indian paṇḍita Abhiyukta. rÑog mDo-sde, who appears to have composed several text-books, heard it from him. The lo-tsā-ba bLo-ldan śes-rab also came to Nepāl and studied under Ha-mu dkar-po. He also made an excellent translation of the two treatises composed by sToṅ-ñid Tiṅ-'dzin. In short, most of the (19b)
Tibetan kalyāṇa-mitras appear to have possessed the precepts of the Vajravārahī Cycle. I shall now relate briefly the Lineage which began with them: From dPyal Kun-dga' rdo-rje (the system) was obtained by sTod-stag-ris-pa the ācārya sTon-Yes. From him it was obtained by the bla-ma Lha-bzo. Also from dPyal-la Zar-ston it was obtained by Jo-sras Yaṅ-dag and Žeṅ-'od. Again from dPyal it was obtained by his own son and the bla-ma sKyi-ston. From the latter the Rin-po-čhe rGyal-tsha, Khro-phu lo-tsā-ba bla-čhen bSod-dbaṅ, Rin-po-čhe bSod-nams seṅ-ge, Yaṅ-rtse-ba Rin-čhen seṅ-ge, Bu-ston Rin-po-čhe, Brag-nag-pa gŽon-nu bsod-nams, the mahā-upādhyāya of Čhos-luṅ-tshogs—Rin-rgyal-ba. Again dPyal taught it to Zar-ston lo-tsā-ba, sNar-ston Žig-po, Grags-pa tshul-khrims, Grub-thob dKon-mčhog grags, 'Phags-pa Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, bla-ma 'Jam-rgyal, mkhan-po kLu-sgrub (kLu-sgrub rgya mtsho?), bKa'-bži-ba dKon-mčhog gžon-nu, then Yaṅ-rtse-ba Rin-čhen seṅ-ge. Also from dPyal it was heard by dbEn-pa bSod-seṅ, the son dPyal Kun-dga' grags and Lha-luṅ-pa. Now: dPyal Čhos-bzaṅs, Roṅ-pa rGwa-lo, Roṅ-pa Ser-seṅ, Bag-ston gŽon-tshul, sTag-ston gŽon-nu dpal, bla-ma Amogha-

vajra, the mahā-upādhyāya Riṅ-rgyal-ba. Again from dPyal Kun-rdor—gTsaṅ-pa Yaṅ-dag rdo-rje, dbUs-pa Śes-rab rdo-rje, lČe mDo-sde seṅ-ge, Gru Śākya-'bum, lČe bLo-ldan seṅ-ge, lČe rje-btsun bSod-nams-dpal, lČe dBaṅ-phyug rdo-rje, the mahā-upādhyāya Rin-rgyal-ba. Again mÑa'-ris sKyi-ston, Thur-ba-pa, Tshul-khrims-skyabs, Thaṅ-pa-pa 'Phags-pa skyabs, gSer-sdiṅs-pa gŽon-nu 'od, Kun-mkhyen Čhos-sku 'od-zer, lČe bLo-ldan seṅ-ge. In all five Lineages. The chapter on the Six Treatises of the (Vajra)vārahī Cycle (Tg. rGyud, Nos. 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555 and 1556).

The writer is Dol-pa Ñi-śar (The usual custom among Tibetan teachers is to dictate the text to a disciple). (204)

vajra, the mahā-upādhyāya Riṅ-rgyal-ba. Again from -dPyal Kun-rdor—gTsaṅ-pa Yaṅ-dag rdo-rje, dbUs-pa Śes-rab rdo-rje, lČe mDo-sde seṅ-ge, Gru Śākya-'bum, lČe bLo-ldan seṅ-ge, lČe rje-btsun bSod-nams-dpal, lČe dBaṅ-phyug rdo-rje, the mahā-upādhyāya Rin-rgyal-ba. Again mÑa'-ris sKyi-ston, Thur-ba-pa, Tshul-khrims-skyabs, Thaṅ-pa-pa 'Phags-pa skyabs, gSer-sdiṅs-pa gŽon-nu 'od, Kun-mkhyen Čhos-sku 'od-zer, lČe bLo-ldan seṅ-ge. In all five Lineages. The chapter on the Six Treatises of the (Vajra)vārahī Cycle (Tg. rGyud, Nos. 1551, 1552, 1553, 1554, 1555 and 1556).

The writer is Dol-pa Ñi-śar (The usual custom among Tibetan teachers is to dictate the text to a disciple). (204)